MEMOIRS

OF

1709

SCIPIO DE RICCI,

LATE BISHOP OF PISTOIA AND PRATO,

REFORMER OF CATHOLICISM IN TUSCANY

UNDER THE REIGN OF LEOPOLD.

COMPILED FROM

THE AUTOGRAPH MSS. OF THAT PRELATE,

AND THE LETTERS OF OTHER DISTINGUISHED PERSONS

OF HIS TIMES.

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THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL
1709

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THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

MEMOIRS

OF

SCIPIO DE RICCI.

CHAPTER I.

Miraculous Image.—Matrimonial Dispensations.—Abolition of Ecclesiastical Courts.—Diminution of Convents.—Attempts against Ricci.

RICCI, having organised the seminary of Pistoia, extended his reforms to that of Prato; but though he met with great opposition on all accounts, *the single altar* was what excited the loudest murmurs, whenever it was proposed. After alluding to a pretended miraculous image of the Virgin in a church at Arezzo, he says, that "it served as a pretext for pillage, massacres, and all kinds of impieties, of which the image was thus rendered an accomplice;" for which

reason, when he withdrew a similar image of the Virgin from its hiding-place at Prato, he had it newly painted, that it might not deceive the people, as it had formerly done, into errors and excesses.

Ricci was highly offended at the manner in which the Court of Rome dealt in dispensations of marriage, styling the trade "infame bottega" (an infamous shop). He determined, on the authority of Leopold, to grant dispensations in the diocese of Pistoia and Prato: his diocesans applied to him instead of the Papal Court, and contracted with confidence any marriages which he authorized. His dispensations, besides, cost nothing, while those of the Pope were enormously dear. In the course of five years he granted three hundred and seventeen dispensations. His conduct in this was particularly displeasing to the Papal Conrt, though he received pompous eulogies from the Pope on occasion of the report he made of the state of his diocese, and the Pontifical Secretary of State, Cardinal Pallavicini, exhorted him strongly to hold a diocesan synod, which he had stated he entertained some intention of doing. But while Ricci was endeavouring to regulate his diocese, and watch over its interests, the monks and nuns persisted in contradicting him on all points, and disobeying him

in matters which he judged of the highest importance. He found they had resumed acting plays, and dancing, in the convents of the nuns, though he had rigorously forbidden them, from the period of his becoming a bishop. Upon renewing his prohibitions, however, and threatening to proceed against the convents and their confessors guilty of such disorders, they ceased.

The next object of Ricci was to reduce the number of monasteries in each diocese to at most one or two, in order to subject them to the jurisdiction of the bishops. But this was attacking the monks in their strong-holds, and the opposition he met with from them, lasted for the rest of his life. They particularly did all in their power to withhold from the knowledge of Ricci, their plans of cloister studies, which were (says Ricci) composed of "peripatetic philosophy and *Scottism*, taught in the most barbarous Latin."

Ricci had, as has been stated, dispensed licences of marriage, &c. *gratis*, but he could not of course always please all parties. A certain family of merchants called Piccioli, wished that the widow of one of them should espouse her late husband's brother, in order that the property should be kept in the family. For this purpose, they applied to Ricci, but he, not judging a dispensation proper under the circumstances, refused it. On this,

the parties applied to Rome, where, by dint of bribes, they obtained permission to marry; but as the authority did not extend to Tuscany, they could not be acknowledged as married persons there. The Grand-duke, moreover, was enraged at their obstinacy, and exiled them from his territories. In this extremity, they once more addressed themselves to Ricci, who, touched by their submission, obtained their pardon, reconciled them to the Church, and married them anew. He was always open to the petitions of those who demanded to be freed from such religious vows as they had taken while under age; and both male and female religious persons found in him an advocate in such cases for their secularization.

The reforms of Ricci, as might have been expected, met with the most determined opposition; but he waited with patience for the time when men should become more enlightened, and endeavoured to hasten that time, by furnishing his diocesans with good books. He sent the curates copies of these, persuaded that the taste for their perusal would spread from them among their parishioners, as in fact it did. Even the peasants used to purchase these books, to read them in the evening to their families; and in order to propagate this taste, the Grand-duke banished all

the hawkers of the printed indulgences of the Court of Rome.

Among other projects of Ricci, was that of the abolition of the litigious and contentious Ecclesiastical Courts; but though he failed in doing this, he succeeded in reforming their practice. He endeavoured, but in vain, to have the bishops and other high functionaries of the Church paid by salaries, like the inferior orders of the clergy, as being the only means of preventing the property of the Church from being wasted or expended by a prodigal predecessor. The progress of the French Revolution, however, absorbed all the attention of Leopold; and the constant opposition of the bishops to the measure prevented the meritorious designs of Ricci from being carried into execution.

The Dominicans of Saint Maria Novella at Florence, in the mean time, neglected nothing to recover a portion of the influence they had lost in Pistoia. Ricci opposed them, and was seconded by the Grand-duke, who, by an edict of the 16th of October, abolished for ever the lotteries for giving dowries to girls, on occasion of the various festivals, accompanied by the promise of indulgences as excessive as they were scandalous and absurd, by which large sums were gained, espe-

cially in the country. The laws which existed against the begging clergy in Tuscany, had not been observed. Ricci now enforced their execution; employed the money which had till then been spent in dowries, in a wiser manner; and instituted conservatories for women, who were to be brought up from the age of eight to twenty-four, with the view of becoming industrious and good wives. At the latter age, however, they were obliged to leave the institution, lest, as Ricci apprehended, such places should grow into real nunneries through the bigotry of the elder members.

In 1785, the Secretary Seratti was created Counsellor of State. He opposed all the plans of Ricci, in which he was warmly seconded by the Civil Lieutenant of Pistoia. This opposition obliged Ricci to look for a co-operator with him in his beneficent projects. He thought of Martini, Secretary for the Rights of the Crown; and in the hope of rendering him an ally, he showed (as he says) more respect for Martini than he deserved. He seemed at first to have succeeded; Martini required of the bishops an account of their revenues, but they either refused to answer, lest they should lose the Pope's favour, or they replied that their dioceses were poor, and destitute of the resources with which Pistoia and Prato

abounded. Ricci unveiled the falsehood of these assertions, pointed out the real sources of the wealth of the clergy, and recommended a more equal distribution of it.

Ricci next gives us an account of his vigilant attention to the plan of studies pursued by the monks of Giaccherino, the only place of study which the regulars had in his diocese. The monks opposed all his plans of improvement, in which they were supported by the practice of the other bishops: for though Ricci drew up a list of the books which he wished to be employed in the instruction of the youth of his diocese, he was the only bishop who took any vigorous or decided measures. The Grand-duke did not think proper to pass any general law on the subject; so that Ricci only gained by his projects the reputation of an enthusiast, and an enemy to the Court of Rome. He was, however, unmoved by these clamours; and in order to overcome the bishops' resistance to the reforms of Leopold, which he thought had its source in their fidelity to their oath of consecration, he addressed himself to Seratti on the subject. The affair however dropped, and no measures were taken to remedy the existing evils.

The Bishop made a new attempt by sending

to Leopold some original documents proving that the Court of Rome abused the power which the oath taken by the bishops gave it, by "obliging them to resist their sovereigns (says Ricci) whenever they touch upon the false rights of the pretended Papal monarchy." Leopold's reforms were not intended to intrench upon the Pope's rights; but he did not go to the root of the evil in all cases. One of the most grievous disorders lay in "cases of conscience," of which the bishops had reserved for their own decision a great number, and in which they alone had the power of absolution. "They have become the slaves, instead of the brothers of the Pope; and usurp the rights of the priests and curates, as Rome has usurped theirs, by despoiling them of their natural and legitimate authority."

It was with the utmost delicacy towards the bishops that Leopold attacked this abuse; but he was not obeyed in the greater part of the dioceses, or for any length of time. All the bishops were opposed to him, and their advisers still more so. Ricci gives us the character of the latter. "They were," says he, "some ignorant advocate, invested with the character of chancellor, or a serving priest, without any knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs, and puffed up with their

Roman vanity." The reserved cases of conscience, which were generally indecent or absurd, were decided on, not by a Synod, but arbitrarily; and these continued to exist as before.

The list of the excommunications and cases still actually reserved for the decision of the Archbishop of Pisa, who can alone grant absolution for them, contains the common absurdity of confounding indecencies and real crimes with actions indifferent in themselves. By way of instance, we shall merely cite the eating of meat on days prohibited by the Church, and other offences against its particular ordinances, which are placed upon the same level with the worst crimes of which men can be guilty, such as seduction and rape, bearing false witness, and wilful murder.

It moreover contains an absurdity peculiar to itself—that of having classed with forgers and assassins "those who fell trees in the forests of the archiepiscopal *mensæ*, called Tombolo, Tomboletto, Poggio a Padule, and other farms in Migliarino, without the permission of the most illustrious and most reverend Lord Archbishop, or of his procurator.* These excommunications and reserved

* "Excommunicationes illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino archiepiscopo in Pisanis synod. reservatæ. Casus idem

cases are printed at Pisa, at the Archbishop's press, by Rainier Prosperi, with permission of the Superiors. It is remarkable that these reserved cases differ in each diocese: for instance, a most revolting crime has never been pronounced more than a misdemeanour at Florence. At Fiesole, which is situated at the gates of that city, it becomes a reserved case, and has been there distinguished, by the compiler of the catalogue of these exorbitant sins, into a crime proper, and a crime improper.

The person who has carried this senseless absurdity in the distinction of these reserved cases to the greatest lengths, is one of the last of the Stuarts, the royal and most eminent Cardinal Henry, Duke of York, Vice-chancellor of the holy Roman Church, and Bishop of Tusculum, (Frascati.) In a diocesan synod, which he held in 1763, assisted by a Jesuit as manager, the acts

illustr. et reverend. domino archiepiscopo in Pisanis synod. reservati."

ART. 9. "Incidentes arbores et lignantes in sylvis et nemoribus mensæ archiepiscopalis, in locis, ut vulgo dicitur, Tombolo, Tomboletto, Poggio a Padule, ed altre tenute in Migliarino, absque licentia illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini archiepiscopi, vel ejus procuratoris. Pisis, in archiepiscopali typographia, apud Raynerium Prosperi, Superiorum permissu."

of which synod he published at Rome, the following year, with the approbation of the Pontifical Government, his legitimate Eminence specified in the most offensive and absurd manner every species of unnatural crime as requiring his special and personal absolution.

We give the Latin title of the singular book which contains these ridiculous abominations, and which we also preserve in the original for the sake of decency.

" Appendix ad Tusculanam Synodum à celsitudine regia eminentissima Henrici episcopi Tusculani, S. R. E. vice-cancellarii, Cardinalis Ducis Eboracensis, in Tusculano cathedrali templo apostolorum principis S. Petri celebratam, diebus viii. ix. et x. Septembris, A.D. MDCCLXIII. Excudebat Romæ Generosus Salamoni, episcopi typographus, anno 1764, superioribus annuentibus."

Num. 12, cap. 10, art. 9, § 9.—" Casus quorum absolutionem sibi reservat regia celsitudo eminentissima dominus Cardinalis Dux Eboracensis, episcopus Tusculanus.

The Grand-duke, desirous that the women who devoted themselves to a monastic life, should at least be aware of what they were about, ordained that the *minimum* of the age for pronouncing the

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vows should be twenty-two. He also forbade the practice of asking or receiving dowries with the nuns; but in order to prevent this regulation from having the effect of crowding the nunneries, he ordered that the parents of each nun should pay, according to their ability, some considerable sum to the Hospital of the place. He allowed those who entered his conservatories to choose within a certain time between an ordinary and a cloistered life; if they chose the latter, they were bound to devote themselves to the instruction of poor girls in some manual work, and in the Christian doctrines. His aim, moreover, was to augment the number of good housewives and mothers in his states, and to diminish that of "the unfortunate victims of a forced celibacy."

Ricci endeavoured to diminish the number of convents, and proved to the Nuncio Crivelli, who opposed him, that Florence held within its walls more convents than Rome itself, though the population of the former was not much more than half that of the capital of Catholicism. He maintained that the multitude of convents tended only to render some persons rich at the expense of the unhappy nuns; and he proved, through the examinations of some of them by confidential priests, that they were generally ignorant of their duties

and the force of their vows, "which they observed *judaically*."

The greater number of the convents were converted into conservatories; and their reformation was of infinite service to Tuscany in general, by the instruction they spread among the poor, and by giving birth to hospitals and other charities. The convent of Saint Marcel, however, was the only one which fully conformed to Leopold's wishes; and in return for spreading so much good around it, it was persecuted by the successors of Ricci, and "the nuns were accused of being as proud as so many Lucifers, while they had the piety of angels."

The enemies of Ricci were not yet weary of persecuting him. They ordered him to furnish the sum of 12,000 crowns to the diocese of Pisa. But this endeavour to entrap him was eluded, by his addressing himself to the Grand-duke, to whom he proved how inconsistently his enemies acted, in accusing him at one moment of wasting his ecclesiastical patrimony in new buildings, and coming upon him the next with demands to cover expenses with which he had nothing to do. Leopold ordered the Archbishop of Pisa to look elsewhere for the money he required, and never to think of making use of any sum belonging to Ricci

without his formal consent. New force was added to the malice of his enemies by a report, which was industriously spread by the Pope, that a synod of Cardinals was assembled at Rome to judge of the conduct and doctrines of Ricci: which had the double effect of destroying any inclination in the other bishops to follow his example, and of exciting still farther the irritation against the Emperor Joseph, which had been already powerfully awakened by the monks.

Ricci speedily experienced the effects of the enmity of his adversaries, when he wished to free the property of his diocesans from the obligation of paying for masses and other religious ceremonies, which had degenerated into a traffic. For this purpose, he published and circulated tracts relative to the sacrifice of the mass, and at the same time some writings proving the justice and ability of Leopold's measures, as they regarded ecclesiastical matters. The Grand-duke seconded his Bishop's endeavours to cause the money, which was employed in masses, to be used for the poor, and the education and maintenance of their children: and the good to which this led, encouraged Leopold to attempt the suppression of all benefices which were in the hands of certain families for the benefit of the younger members,

and who made them sinecures, paying strangers for services rendered not to the Church, but to themselves.

But the good intentions of the Grand-duke on this head were rendered vain, by want of co-operation in the bishops, who were, for the greater part, violently opposed to all innovation in matters ecclesiastic: the rest remained neuter, contenting themselves with not opposing or obstructing the intentions of the Prince.

The next step of Leopold was to order all the bishops "to hold a diocesan synod at least once in two years, conjointly with the curates, in order to examine into the abuses in discipline, and to apply the necessary remedies."

Mancini, Bishop of Fiesole, was the first to obey this mandate; but the letter of convocation was so ill drawn up, and contained so many contradictions, that when it was sent to Leopold, the latter forwarded it to Ricci for correction. Ricci pointed out, with all possible delicacy towards the Bishop of Fiesole, the errors contained in this document, and ended by advising its suppression as the best service that could be rendered to the prelate. It was soon discovered that Ricci was the adviser of this measure, which embroiled him with the Bishop of Fiesole, and, joined to the favour in which

he was held by the Grand-duke, raised him up new enemies. Mancini returned his letter to the Government carefully corrected; but though the grosser errors were removed, Ricci still thought he saw the same spirit in it: the Grand-duke, therefore, ordered its suppression.

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CHAPTER II.

Formation of new Parishes.—Results of this measure in regard to the inhabitants of La Montagna.—Letter of the Grand-duke.—Ecclesiastical Synods.—Riots at Prato.—Leopold retires, fatal consequences of that event.—Retirement of Ricci.—Letters of the Abbé Bellegarde and others.

AFTER Leopold had succeeded in removing some useless or hurtful members of the clergy, he wished to augment the number of those whose labours, he thought, would instruct the people. For this purpose, he created new parishes wherever it was probable that the presence of a curate would improve civilization. The suppressions he had made, had been blamed by his ministers as irreligious; his additions were blamed as impolitic. "The people," said they, "are the better for being ignorant of matters of religion—a bishop or priest, who should be appointed to bless a nation from the top of a tower, is equal to all their wants."

The inhabitants of La Montagna were deeply in want of curates, who should not only act the part of faithful pastors, but also that of heads of families, when the men were gone to work at the *Maremma*. This Ricci signified to Leopold : his plan was approved, and immediately acted upon.

On this occasion, Ricci relates an anecdote of an adventure he met with in the course of this diocesan visit, undertaken in order to gain information for the Grand-duke. Some of his enemies had caused to be dug in the stony and narrow roads of La Montagna a deep pit, which was covered with leaves, into which it was hoped Ricci and his horse would fall and perish there. The curate of the place had discovered this, (I believe, says Ricci, by means of confession,) and hastened to inform the prelate's secretary, who communicated the fact to the magistrate. The latter removed the danger, and Ricci, finding the road in good condition, suspected nothing; nor was he informed of this attempt on his life, till several months afterwards.

How necessary it was to have priests residing among the faithful of La Montagna, may be guessed from the fact, that the roads are so bad in winter, that twenty-three families, forming a whole village, lived six months of the year with-

out priests or sacraments, until it was changed into a curacy. The priest of the next parish had, till then, been accustomed to officiate till the month of September, and then to bid them adieu till the next Spring.

Ricci's plan, and his zealous execution of it, pleased the Duke so much, that he invited the Bishop to dinner at his villa, with his sister the Queen of Naples, and King Ferdinand, then in Tuscany, to whom he related all the good that Ricci had done in his diocese, particularly in the Mountain of Pistoia: to which Ferdinand listened with attention and interest, and expressed a wish to introduce similar improvements into his own States. But the re-action of 1799, says Ricci, prevented this.

The visit of these royal persons, and Leopold's ill health, seemed to give the ministry a good opportunity of destroying Ricci's plans relative to La Montagna; but their attempts to prejudice Leopold against him were vain. The ministers were provoked to find Ricci's plans succeed so easily, after they had pronounced them impracticable; and the other Tuscan bishops were puzzled how to proceed. They ventured not to follow the example of Ricci, lest they should make enemies of Rome and the monks; and they hated him the

more, because he was so disinterested as to provoke perpetual comparisons with them, greatly to their disadvantage.

Ricci was indignant at the Tuscan bishops for their meanness in compelling the priests, at whose houses they lived while visiting their dioceses, to entertain them magnificently, and to make presents to their secretaries, &c. to their own ruin. He proved to the Grand-duke, who was displeased already at this splendour, which by rendering the prelates inaccessible, rendered their pastoral visits useless—that these visits ought to be made at the expense of the prelates themselves, and that, made as they ought to be, they ought not to exceed one hundred crowns a year—a sum which every bishop was in a condition to pay.

Ricci's principal aim was uniformly the reformation of his own diocese ; and having remarked that the religious ceremonies performed during the night, gave rise to numerous disorders, he forbade them, under severe penalties, during the entire week preceding Christmas.

Another resolution which he took, was to dismiss from the seminary of Pistoia, and the diocese, the rector Comparini. Ricci found that, though useful in many respects, he had been seduced by his enemies to persuade him to discontinue his reforms, but, finding him firm, he declared a secret

war against the friends of the Bishop. Finding, however, that he was the mere tool of his enemies, he endeavoured to recover his good graces, and applied to Leopold to procure a reconciliation; but he had quite lost the confidence of the latter, who thought it a good opportunity to get rid of him, by appointing him to be professor of theology in the University of Pisa.

The conduct of Leopold with regard to the Bishop Mancini, led the evil-disposed to say, that the Duke wanted only such synods as should observe his views and follow his caprice, without leaving any liberty to his bishops. Ricci indignantly denies this, and says he allowed them but too much latitude.

It was now the year 1786. The Grand-duke, satisfied with Ricci's examination of Mancini's letter, submitted to him a circular, which he intended to address to all the Tuscan bishops, proposing to them several questions on ecclesiastical points, requesting them to reflect maturely on them before sending him their answers. Ricci altered and retrenched this as he thought best; but his corrections arrived too late, and the greater part of them could not be adopted. At the assembly of the Tuscan bishops at Florence, nevertheless, it was publicly said that Ricci was the author of the *Points*, in order that they might be

the more odious to the clergy. The Grand-duke granted six months' delay for answering these questions, declaring it to be his intention to submit them to the national council, and to obtain a perfect unity in doctrinal matters.

The Court of Rome, at this time, absolutely dictated the answers which the bishops were to make to their Government. It had always done so, as Ricci had proved to Leopold, urging the obedience which the bishops owed to the Pope, and to none else.

The fact of these *Points* proves Leopold to have been well informed in matters of religion; and Ricci says, that he had read and studied the best books on theology. But we cannot regard this with Ricci as a merit; for it only served to keep up a small warfare of petty discussion with the Court of Rome—whereas an able Government will always so act, as to prevent itself ever being domineered over by its clergy.

The reforms which Ricci wished to introduce into the church, were constantly opposed by the ministry, in spite of the support of Leopold, whose weakness was as remarkable as his benevolence. The bishops and the Court of Rome lent their powerful aid to his enemies, and his plans relative to education were perpetually frustrated by the monks. "Slander and calumny," says he, "the

usual arms of Rome, were put in action to overwhelm me." He was accused of having turned to his own profit the property of the suppressed convents—of having destroyed relic-worship—of having profaned images—of having falsified the prayers, &c. Pretended priests of his diocese were sent to Rome to beg advice against the dangerous errors of their Bishop, &c. One of the canons of Pistoia wrote a defence of all the pretensions of the Church of Rome. But though these things were known to Leopold, he only punished the secondary actors in them, and never the principal. Rome had now begun the war which she meant to carry on against Ricci and his synod—the convocation of which she dreaded above all things.

The Synod, however, assembled on the 18th Sept. 1786. The celebrated Professor Tamburini, of Pavia, and Palmieri, who was to arrange the subjects of discussion, with several others distinguished for their talents, were present. Ricci endeavoured to give his council all the solemnity possible, and the utmost conformity with the most celebrated synods. The clergy of Pistoia had already agreed on the points to be discussed, and were prepared to pass into a law what was already believed and professed. The council was held in the Church of St. Leopold, and consisted of 234 members. Ricci had not acquainted the Pope with any

thing relative to his diocesan synod ; but, as he had signified his intention of holding one, it would certainly have been much more honourable in Pius the Sixth to have *then* declared his displeasure, than to undermine him, and after the death of his protector, Leopold, to persecute him violently.

The council opened with the recitation of Pius the Fourth's Confession of Faith. Some of the members refused to sign the opinions of the council on Grace, Predestination, &c. ; and at the head of the opposition was a canon, an emissary of the Court of Rome. The matter most debated was that of the civil contract of marriage, which it was necessary to distinguish from the sacrament and the nuptial benediction ; and the Duke was applied to for his decision on it as a civil act.

Leopold was delighted with the labours of his council. He encouraged the members by his letters ; and in a visit which he made to Pistoia, he testified his satisfaction publicly, by asking the Bishop to dine at his own table, and Messrs. Palmieri and Tamburini with his secretaries.

He wished to have minute reports of all that passed in the council ; and having learned that Rome was making efforts and intrigues to disturb the assembly and sow discord among its members, he took the necessary measures of precaution against them. The nobility of Pistoia, however,

was opposed to the council, which was denounced at Rome as a conspiracy, and Ricci was defamed in numberless libels.

Ricci had remarked that Gourlin's Catechism, which had been recommended for general use in Tuscany, was much neglected; on which he adopted that of Montazet, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing the good it wrought in his diocese. His example was followed by three of Leopold's bishops; but one of them afterwards seceded.

About this time arrived the answers to the fifty-seven questions which had been propounded by the Grand-duke to the Tuscan bishops. They were sufficiently contradictory, but they showed a wish to satisfy the Prince. Leopold was deceived by their apparent readiness; and wishing to carry the same perfect unanimity of sentiment into the details, as he thought he saw in the principal views, he determined on convoking a general council at Florence, which he believed was to put an end to the intrigues of Rome. Ricci endeavoured to persuade the Duke that this meeting would have fatal consequences, especially if it took place in the capital.

The enemies of Ricci had already obtained the suppression of the acts of his synod until after the close of that of Florence. Having succeeded

in this, they whispered that the publication of them had been forbidden by the Government, and the Grand-duke himself. The Bishop of Pistoia, hearing of this, urged Leopold to change his resolution, and to allow the acts of the assembly to appear, as his best protection against the intrigues of Rome and the calumnies of its creatures.

Leopold objected to this, that it was reported that the acts themselves were to be severely examined in an assembly of Cardinals; therefore, fearing their publication would only serve as a pretext for farther opposition, he contented himself with writing a letter to Ricci, expressive of his entire satisfaction, and his approbation of his synod, and authorizing him to show this to whom he pleased.

In the mean time the council of Florence was convoked, by order of the Grand-duke, for the 23rd April, 1787. From the very beginning of its sittings, the bishops imposed silence on the Duke's theologians, by saying, *Nos magistri, vos discipuli;* "We are the masters, ye are but the scholars." They engaged the assistance of the Advocate Lampredi, a man of talents and eloquence; and believing themselves wholly assembled for the purpose of deciding on the fate of Ricci, his synod, and his reforms, they soon

changed the council into a mere conspiracy against the latter, and all innovation whatever.

All this opposition, however, did not discourage Ricci. His enemies had, therefore, but one expedient left; this was to excite the people to a riot, and, by intimidating the Grand-duke, remove Ricci's principal support.

At Pistoia it soon became known that the great body of the bishops were decidedly opposed to the reforms of Ricci. Several curates petitioned the Secretary to the Crown, and their metropolitan, the Archbishop of Florence, to abolish the innovations made at Pistoia and Prato, and to restore every thing on its former footing. The Archbishop Martini, and the Secretary of the same name, were the principal movers in this plot; but as the Grand-duke opposed these plans, they found that a revolt would be the only method likely to produce the destruction of reform in Tuscany.

At this time the question of the worship of images, &c. was in agitation at Florence. Ricci was said, by his enemies, to entertain erroneous ideas on this head; and it was whispered that he intended to pull down the altar where the Girdle of the Virgin was preserved, and to attempt other innovations equally dreaded by the people.

It had been intimated to the Grand-duke that

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his support of Ricci and his reforms might have fatal political consequences; but he refused to yield, and the riots were resolved upon. On the 20th May, the tumult of Prato took place. In the evening the mob, armed with sticks and hatchets, proceeded to the principal church to prevent the demolition of the Altar of the Girdle. They mounted the tower, rang the alarm-bell for several hours, tore down the Bishop's chair and arms, and ran to burn them in the market-place, together with several books which they found. The church was illuminated during the night, by order of the rioters, and the Holy Girdle was exposed to the reverence of the devout.

From the church they proceeded to the spot where the images were placed, which had been removed from the suppressed monasteries, and carried them in procession to the cathedral, holding in one hand a torch, and in the other a bottle of wine. They paid the same honours to the saints whose worship Ricci had abolished, and tore from the missal the masses for those whose worship he had introduced, which they burnt, together with the books he had distributed among his clergy. They pulled down the new baptisteries—threatened the heads of the seminary and the curates who were known to favour Ricci—made the priests get out of their beds and accompany

them in their shirts to the different churches, to replace before the images the little curtains which Ricci had removed. The churches were soon all lighted up like the cathedral, and each went to pray or sing in them, as he pleased.

The next morning all the peasants of the neighbourhood arrived in the town, and ran from church to church to pay their devotions to the images of the suppressed saints, and the images which, now that they were covered with a veil, had become, in their eyes, far more respectable. Pistoia would soon have followed the example of Prato, had not Leopold sent a detachment of soldiers from Florence, who soon restored order. The gates of Prato were closed, the streets barricadoed, the houses and shops shut, and a number of persons (some of them distinguished) were arrested and sent to the capital. The Grand-duke gave orders that every thing should be restored to the footing on which it was before the revolt.

On hearing this distressing news, Ricci was deeply grieved. Nevertheless, on the 21st he went to the assembly of the bishops, where, though he was warmly received by the few partisans and friends he had, he was greeted only with insulting murmurs by the bishops, his adversaries, who did not even speak to him.

Prato had now returned to a sense of its evil

conduct. The town and the clergy sent a deputation to Leopold, who received them with kindness, stating, that he knew the root of the evil existed in Florence itself, though the revolt had been fomented by evil-designing priests at Prato; that this formed only a part of a general rising, which had failed in consequence of their declaring themselves too soon; and that Rome was mainly interested in the affair, and was in the confidence of the conspirators.

But it was only in consequence of the reiterated requests of Ricci that the Grand-duke consented to forgive his undutiful subjects. The Bishop not only obtained the liberation of the chief actors in the revolt, but at his own expense supported the families of those of the poorer classes who were imprisoned. He then seriously resolved to abdicate; and in a long letter which he wrote to the Grand-duke on the 22nd, after defending himself against the misrepresentations of which his conduct had been made the subject, and begging the Prince to pardon the insurgents, and to publish the acts of his synod, he tendered his resignation. To this he received a very affectionate answer the same day, sympathizing with him, and granting pardon to the revolters, but refusing to accept his resignation, as being a step

likely to produce consequences quite different from those contemplated by Ricci.

Leopold next resolved upon dismissing the assembly. On the 5th of June, 1787, he convoked the bishops, and told them in a severe tone how much he was displeased at their conduct; exhorted them to show an example of submission instead of revolt, to their flocks; and warned them, that if they did not choose to reform abuses, he would use his right of doing it himself.

The fifty-seven articles had been discussed, but the latter ones in great haste, on account of pressing circumstances. The Grand-duke submitted them to Ricci, who refuted all the memorials which the bishops had contrived to insert in the acts. Leopold caused the whole to be printed in spite of the wish of Ricci, that for the sake of the honour of the Tuscan bishops, they should not be made public.

The Grand-duke, irritated by the opposition of the clergy to his reforms, determined to wait no longer, but to begin them himself. Ricci, at his desire, furnished the plan; but they were not proceeded in, on account of the revolutions which then began to agitate Europe.

Several interesting letters are found in Ricci's memoirs, illustrative of the state of the Continent

at this period, and some of which we shall now present to our readers.

The 1st of July, 1787, the Abbé de Bellegarde wrote from Paris, where he then was, to Ricci:

"The public newspapers will have informed you, my Lord, of the seditious movements in the Austrian Low Countries. The principal instigators of them are, without doubt, the ex-jesuits, and the fanatical partisans of the Court of Rome. For many years they have been preparing the way for them by their discourses, their intrigues, and above all, by their alarm-cries, and the seditious writings with which they have inundated, and still continue to inundate the country. They endeavoured to persuade the public that the Emperor's object was to overturn religion and the constitution of the state; and unfortunately the changes in the affairs of government have served as a pretext to this latter calumny."*

On the 31st of August, he wrote another letter on the changes operated provisionally by the authorities who were then on the spot. In the first plans of the supreme Government for the ecclesiastical reform of the Low Countries, he announced the suppression of the general seminary, and the re-establishment of particular colleges;

* "Archiv. Ricci, lettere diverse del 1787," part 2, fo. 1.

the dismissal of the new professors, who were everywhere accused of being heretics, and the recall of the old ones, who were universally held up as the only supporters of the Catholic religion:— "in short," says he, "the complete triumph of fanaticism."*

On the 27th of November, he informed him, from Utrecht, that "the Emperor had manifested his intention of annulling all the provisionary concessions of his agents, and of maintaining the general seminary and all the reforms which had been made; but that the states, the bishops, the abbés, and the people whom they had worked upon, had given reason to fear a revolt, and that once more all remained in suspense."†

The same to the same, 30th June, 1789:

"The Nuncio Zondaderi, whom the Emperor has dismissed from Brussels, for having printed there, without his permission, the brief of Pius the Sixth against Eybel's work, '*Qu'est ce que le Pape?*' and who, at the commencement, seemed to breathe nothing but peace, permits himself to be guided by the Jesuitical sanhedrim of Liege, and does much mischief there.‡ It was this same Zondaderi, who, when Archbishop of Siena,

* Ibid. fo. 59.

† Arch. Ricci, Lettere diverse del 1787, Part 2, fo. 141.

‡ Ibid. anno 1789, Part i. fo. 216.

and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, bestowed his benediction upon the Aretines, at the moment when they had murdered and burnt alive several Jews belonging to his diocese."

On the 15th of September of this year, 1789, the Abbé de Bellegarde made a long report to Ricci of the disturbances in Flanders, and of the serious threats of a revolution, since the Archbishop of Malines had published his charge against the instruction of the seminary of Louvain, and especially against the doctrine of Pehem, taught there in pursuance of the Emperor's orders, by Leplat, Professor of Theology.*

On the 24th of November, he announced to him the flight of the Austrians, and the report of the taking of Brussels by the insurgents. "If this last intelligence be true, the rebels are now masters of the country.....In the mean time, till they are dispossessed of it, Jesuitism and curialism will triumph there; for it is in their favour that this revolution is chiefly made. It is evidently a religious war, the principal pretext of which is all that the sovereign has done to deliver the country from it; this is what the fanatics call wishing to destroy religion."†

M. l'Abbé Y. (we think it our duty to press upon the reader the importance of the reflec-

* Ibid. No. 150.

† Ibid. No. 150.

tions of this honourable prelate, at that time intrusted with an important mission in the capital of Catholicism,) wrote from Rome to his friend the Bishop of Pistoia, on the 22nd of October, 1790 :*

"You will probably have learnt the late events in Brabant. Scapularies and Capuchins' cords form part of the booty made by the conquerors, the Imperialists. I figure to myself the fine exploits of this bearded gentry (*barboni*); and this idea alone would excite my laughter, did not humanity and religion make me weep for the effusion of the blood of so many unfortunates, so strangely seduced and led to the slaughter by these villains of furious Papists, (*Papalini.*) Shall I tell you a very singular circumstance? The same Abbé de Tongerloo, who had promised invulnerability to the Flemish crusaders, had been, previously to this period, abbé of the church of St. Norbert des Brabançons at Rome, and at this moment still keeps up a regular correspondence with people of the same stamp."—M. Y., who thoroughly understood the affairs of the Court of Rome at this period, calls (in this letter to the prelate) Brancadoro, at that time Nuncio to the Low Countries, and now a Cardinal, "a Romish emissary."

* Ibid. anno 1790, Part 2 No. 110.

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The same to the same, December 10th:

He informs him of the pacification of the Austrian Low Countries, and concludes his letter by saying:—"This is intelligence which they will endeavour to suppress here (at Rome), but which will cause great uneasiness."*

The same to the same, January 7th, 1791:

"I myself also know, that a correspondence is suspected of being kept up between Pistoia and Brabant."

The same to the same, February 12th:

"I learn that the King (the Emperor Leopold) has sent the Marquis de Marco some copies of the pontifical briefs of spiritual privileges, which were found in the pockets of the Brabant monk-soldiery."†

The Abbé Mouton, who had replaced the Abbé de Bellegarde (who died a little more than two years since), as the correspondent of Ricci, at the Jansenists' of Utrecht, wrote to him from that city, the 10th of January, 1792:

"Attempts have been made in Brabant, and particularly at Brussels, to revive fanaticism, and recommence, if possible, an insurrection; and the Archbishop seemed to connive at it."‡

* Ibid. No. 149. † Ibid. No. 29.
‡ Ibid. anno 1792, No. 13.

CHAPTER III.

Publication of Ricci's Apology—and his retirement.

In the mean time, the priests of Ricci's own diocese sent petitions to Florence, intreating the abolition of the reforms introduced into Pistoia and Prato. The Secretary Martini was the instigator of these attempts, as Ricci proved to Leopold, who threatened Martini with the loss of his place, in case of their continuance. The Court of Rome had its emissaries at all the Catholic courts, endeavouring to excite a revolt of the people against their princes in its favour; and the revolt of Prato was evidently a part of this vast plan. The people of Pistoia first petitioned for the restoration of the ancient order of things; from supplications they proceeded to acts, and insisted upon having the ceremonies of the Church performed according to their pleasure.

On Oct. 5th, 1787, Ricci published his touch-

ing and eloquent "Apology," which met with the utmost success, was translated into Latin, French, and German, and praised by the Emperor Joseph the Second. The Court of Rome was more irritated than ever at the success of this piece; and its emissaries, by their continued charges of heresy and innovation against Ricci, even succeeded for a moment in leading Leopold to doubt him, though these doubts were soon effaced. Ricci had the courage to return to Prato, in spite of being menaced with assassination; and his mildness had the effect of restoring a momentary calm in that city.

The publication of the Acts of the Assembly of Florence and of the Synod of Pistoia, produced a great effect throughout Catholic Europe; and Ricci received from all parts the most flattering letters and sincere compliments relative to the Council of Pistoia. Amongst other acts of adherence to his council, Ricci received that of the Jansenist Archbishop of Utrecht, of the bishops his suffragans, and of all his metropolitan chapter,—an act which was officially transmitted to him by the Abbé de Bellegarde, accompanied by a letter dated Utrecht, 12th of November, 1789. In it he designates the Synod of Pistoia as *holy*, and signs his letter "Gabriel du Pae de Bellegarde, late Count, and canon of the metropolitan church of Lyon."*

* Lettere diverse dell' anno 1789, Part 2, No. 136.

A letter, equally remarkable, upon the same subject, is that of Le Bret, professor at Tubingen, written the 18th of August, 1789.

After having given Ricci every possible assurance of esteem and veneration, and testified the sincere interest he took in the persecutions to which that prelate had been exposed, the professor says, that he has annexed to his letter an academical dissertation composed by his pupils, relative to the affairs of the diocese of Pistoia, "in order to convince the Bishop of the lively interest with which the Protestants themselves are inspired by the unworthy treatment to which malice had subjected him."

To this I shall add what the Abbé wrote from Rome on the 17th of December, 1790:

The Spanish envoy, of the order of St. Augustin, having been questioned respecting this synod, whether he found heresies in it, and what was thought of it in Spain, candidly answered, that the Collection of its Acts was a holy book, and that in Spain it displeased none but the monks; that the ministers considered it excellent, and that, in spite of monkish intrigues, the reprint of it in the Spanish language has been allowed; but that, notwithstanding all this, the book will be prohibited at Rome, because the Pope listens to none but the Molinists.*

* Ibid. anno 1790. Part 2. No. 36.

Leopold did not stop here; but suppressed the residence of the Nuncio at his Court; ordered that the monks, &c. of his states should be subject only to their bishops; banished foreign monks from Tuscany; recalled the absentee ecclesiastics; and removed from the Court of Rome his minister Fei, who had been completely gained over by that Court. Rome was astonished at these proofs of firmness; but, not daring to attempt any thing against him, directed all its endeavours to the destruction of Ricci.

With this view, a congregation of Cardinals was called, for the examination of the Synod of Pistoia. Nothing reprehensible was found in its acts: and a second, more severe, was assembled. This congregation found some unimportant scruples only, relating to the meaning of terms, which they were ashamed to allege as complaints against it to the Tuscan Government. A third congregation was convoked; but though the Pope had promised to communicate the opinions of the assembly privately to Leopold, before taking any public steps, this was never done, and the congregation continued to sit, merely for the purpose of spreading a belief that there was something reprehensible in Ricci's synod, and of keeping the Bishop and his friends in perpetual fear of his arrest.

Ricci continued to be calumniated; and the intrigues of the Archbishop of Florence, his enemy, succeeded in obtaining his abandonment by the priests of his own diocese, and their recantation of the decisions of the synod, which they had themselves signed. The people began to be persuaded that the sacraments administered by Ricci and his partisans were null: and most of his diocesans sent their children to Florence to be baptized or confirmed. Ricci could not help making bitter complaints of the way in which he was persecuted; so that he came to pass for a turbulent and violent person.

Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth. He was firm, but mild; and he was a model of pastoral virtues. He regarded his clergy as his brethren—would never suffer them to perform a degrading office, nor even to sit, as was customary, at the foot of the episcopal chair. His humility was remarkable; and he read in person, as the primitive bishops did, homilies on all the duties of a Christian. His conduct, however, was misrepresented by the partisans of the Court of Rome, who said that this meekness was only assumed, to hide his dangerous designs, and procure credence to his erroneous doctrines.

The illness of the Emperor (Joseph the Second), whose successor Leopold was to be, encouraged

the hopes of the enemies of reform; and the Court of Rome already exulted in its approaching triumph in Tuscany. Ricci foresaw the consequences of Leopold's departure to himself and to his reforms, seeing that he and they had no other protector.

Leopold was wearied with the ill-success of his plans, and was even led by the enemies of reform to believe that as the French Revolution was merely a consequence of the destruction of popular prejudices, the interference with religious matters might produce similar results. The author of Ricci's Life, in manuscript, here argues, that the superstition of the people and the disorders and ambition of the clergy were more likely to bring about a revolution; and that a moderate reform might have prevented all its evils.

It was in the pontifical states, and still more at Rome, that the old examples of clerical immorality were renewed. To prove this, we shall only quote two anecdotes which we have found among the correspondence of M. Y. with the Bishop of Pistoia.*

"I do not recollect whether I have already told you of the report prevalent here of the bad conduct of the Bishop of Foligno, who is publicly accused of being a sharper and a w——monger!

* Ibid. anno 1790, Part 2, No. 88.

He is a worthy protegé of Cardinal Buoncompagni."

The same to the same, 5th of November:

After mentioning that Cardinal Busca, at that time one of the chief and favoured lovers of the Princess Santa Croce, (former mistress of the French Ambassador, Cardinal de Bernis) had dined at that lady's, in company with Pierre Paul de Medicis, son of Alverardo de Medicis, of Florence, M. Y. adds,*

"The partiality of that old Polixena for this charming young man, excited the jealousy of the overgrown Cardinal, who gave way to the most indecent excesses. He abused his own footman at the table, for pouring out wine for Medici, saying, 'Are you also in the plot for *cornuting* me?' Shortly after this, he threw a glass of wine in Medici's face, who immediately started up with a menacing air, brandishing a plate in his hand; he, however, repressed his rage, and spoke with much prudence. The Roman Helen interposed, as the Sabines did after their ravishment. The anecdote is authentic."

The compiler of these notes, who resided at Rome for several years, witnessed, at the time of the double restoration of civil and religious legiti-

* Ibid. No. 122.

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macy in Europe, and within less than one year, three scandalous adventures, which restored to the ancient Court of Rome almost all its former reputation. The first is as follows:

The public opinion, which, (a circumstance well worthy of reflection,) since the long occupation of the states of his Holiness by the French, was much more severe at Rome than formerly, had forced a young prelate to leave that city, to whom a husband had made over his wife *by contract.*

Shortly afterwards, the prelate who was governor of the capital of Catholicism, was obliged to fly in order to escape the punishment due to his dilapidations, the forgeries he had committed to a considerable amount, and his unbridled libertinism, backed by every species of violence.

Lastly, a third prelate, the relation of a most worthy Cardinal, and confidential agent in the affairs of another, was taken by some gendarmes in the fact, and at the moment he was about to commit, almost publicly, the most detestable of vices, under the colonnade of a palace.

The method now resorted to for the purpose of diminishing these disorders, is the same which was employed thirty years ago, notoriously, with such little success. But another kind of success is obtained by it, to which much more importance

is attached, the arrest of great numbers of *carbonari*.

M. the Abbé Y. wrote to the Bishop Ricci, on the 20th of October, 1790 :*

" The Holy Office has never worked so hard as at present. People are continually being imprisoned for freemasonry ; and every thing is construed into it. In the mean time, though Cagliostro has been ten months in durance, nothing positive has been elicited from him."

Under these circumstances, Ricci lost all the little authority which he formerly possessed in his diocese. The people abolished all his reforms, and restored the ancient splendour of the worship; while the ministers of the Grand-duke endeavoured to remove from Ricci his only partisans, the curates of his diocese, by depriving them of their salaries.

In Feb. 1790, the news of Joseph's death arrived. The certainty of the departure of Leopold awakened, on all hands, the spirit of revolt; and the populace, in a state of sedition, clamoured loudly against their Bishop. The canons, whose pretensions he had diminished, exclaimed against the illegality of his reforms, and gradually made all traces of them disappear.

Leopold, however, did not yield. He renewed

* Ibid. anno 1790, Part 2, No. 107.

his orders for the observance of all that Ricci had done, and assured him of the protection of the Regency. But it was not probable that those who had opposed him while in power, should now obey him. The new regents did all in their power to sow fresh disorders in Pistoia. They said that the popular feeling should be left to its natural course, and declared all interference of the Government on Church matters not only dangerous, but illegal.

Matters were still worse when Leopold quitted Tuscany. Pistoia then became the prey of the fanatics. The Regency, through crafty motives, exceeded the intentions of Leopold, in order to irritate the people. Leopold had ordered the suppression of all splendour in the Church ceremonies, which they interpreted to mean the abolition even of the cross and tapers at burials. The priests were forced, by the clamours of the people, to replace these, and the Government seized that pretext for punishing them severely; and this absurd and ill-timed rigour increased the general irritation.

Some interesting letters were received by Ricci about this time, of which the following are copies:

The Abbé de Bellegarde to the Bishop Ricci, Paris, 31st of August, 1787:

After having announced the nomination of the

Archbishop of Toulouse to the office of Prime Minister of France, he adds, "The discussions between the court and the parliaments, and other sovereign courts, show some symptoms of a speedy reconciliation. The King testifies a wish of being advised. It is hoped that he will assemble the states-general of the kingdom, in order to apply a sound and effectual remedy to all grievances."*

The Count Louis Gianni, (brother of the Minister of Tuscany at the Holy See,) to the Bishop Ricci, Rome, 31st of August, 1789 : †

"The French strike at the root of the evil, and give us a strong and prompt example for imitation. By depriving the clergy of their riches, they prepare them for the acquirement of knowledge and the reformation of morals; the pensioning of monks and nuns will insure the destruction of the orders. Rome is silent, and will ever continue so, when opposed by vigorous and well-digested measures. Would to God that other sovereigns would imitate so salutary a reform!"

The same to the same, Rome, 16th August :‡

"He thinks," observes he, "with well-informed and well-disposed persons, that a solid and lasting felicity will be the result of the temporary over-

* Ibid. anno 1787, Part 2, fo. 59.

† Ibid. anno 1789, Part 2, No. 33. ‡ Ibid. No. 45.

throw of France; that is, that the unjust feudal government will be destroyed, and that the Gallican Church will recover the liberties ravished from it by the Florentine Pope, (Leo the Tenth,) and Francis the First."

The same to the same, Rome, 20th August:*

"The effectual execution of the decrees of the Assembly will secure happiness to France; to the King, a most legitimate authority; and to the Church its entire liberty: may God grant it!

"People are here humiliated, yet proud. Every thing portends a popular commotion. God preserve us from it!"

The Abbé Y. to the same, Rome, the 18th of November:†

"The intelligence from France has confounded the Roman leeches. The Court of Rome was completely disconcerted by the motion of the Bishop of Autun, which is analogous with the principles professed in Tuscany. It is whispered that the confiscation of ecclesiastical property is in operation; and the only consolation is that of saying that the resolution will not be adopted in the precise terms proposed by that prelate."

The same to the same, July 9, 1790:‡

"You of course know the progress which truth

* Ibid. No 54. † Ibid. No. 47.

‡ Ibid. anno 1790, Part 2, No. 7.

and sound ecclesiastical regulations are daily making in France, where they spring up unexpectedly even from the midst of past troubles."

The same to the same, Rome, July 24, 1790 :*

"Not all the dexterous assimilation of this country can prevent their being greatly embarrassed with respect to French affairs. The Assembly has disconcerted them. In the opinion of the people, the French are all heretics; but they will not advance the proposition in a bull.

"Whether real or affected, great apprehension of tumult is manifested. Whoever speaks in praise of liberty is watched....

"Official communication of the rebellion of Avignon has been made to all the diplomatic corps in a very dolorous note."

The same to the same, Rome, December 29th :†

"Every one is mute here. France, that pushes straight forward like a sword, the revolution of Flanders, &c., are things which have caused a very indigestible Easter. We shall perhaps see the Catholicism of Rome cooped up in a mere corner of the globe."

The same to the same, Rome, January 7th, 1791 :‡

"The affairs of France still keep this country

* Ibid. No. 26. † Ibid. No. 178.

‡ Ibid. anno 1791, No. 7.

in agitation. At length it is the common opinion that Bernis had administered the national oath. The public hate was about to be the consequence. To remedy this, a supposed letter of his to the Minister of Foreign Affairs was made public; the object of which was to prove, that he had put some restrictions on the oath, which is, however, pure and simple. In the mean time, preparations are making here to receive the fugitive bishops. The usual Christmas pensions have not yet been distributed; it is said, they are to be kept for these martyrs. The city, or rather the creditors, loudly murmur, and curse bishops and Christs. They hope to find a remedy for all in civil war; and are therefore attached to that passage of the Gospel: '*Veni mittere ignem*,' &c., with what follows."

The Chevalier John Gianni, (Minister of Tuscany at the Holy See,) to the same, Rome, January 8th, 1791:*

"I should not be surprised if, in consequence of the new reforms in France, the whole Gallican church would assimilate itself to that of Utrecht; in which case, what would be the consequence for Babylon? (Rome.)"

The Chevalier Louis Gianni, (brother of the preceding,) to the same, Rome, March 18th: †

* Ibid. No. 13. † Ibid. No. 55.

"The consecration of thirteen French bishops, without the permission of Rome, is consolation for every one who loves order, and detests the monarchy prohibited by Christ in his Church."

The Abbé Y. to the same, Rome, July 9th:*

"Rome is in a paroxysm of joy at the news of the flight of the King of France. She fully understands in what way her tenderness may be repaid. I, who have had an opportunity of hearing people's opinions since the commencement of the troubles (of France,) am entitled to judge. Whatever was done against the Queen (Maria Antoinette,) was then considered as an act of heroism. Now!...now, the datary (*dateria*) is the paramount object. However, they conceal their cupidity very dexterously under the mask of zeal, compassion, &c. But I do not wonder at them; my astonishment is reserved for those who trust them."

The Abbé Clement, (afterwards Constitutional Bishop of Versailles,) to the same, Livry, near Paris, July 18th: †

"For two years, the King was the delight of the nation, and consented to a paternal government. His enemies persuaded him, on the 21st of June, into a disgraceful flight, as if for the purpose of placing himself at the head of the armies

* Ibid. No. 121. † Ibid. No. 128.

raised against France. His almost miraculous arrest has plunged him into the most desperate situation. It appears that in putting an end to the form of the National Constitution, he will be required to promise the execution of it, and that, in case of his refusal, he will be dispossessed of power till the majority of his son. This is, I think, the most moderate plan which the National Assembly will determine upon."

The Abbé Y. to the same, Rome, July 16th:*

"A thousand ridiculous stories are circulated respecting France. The current report is, that a coalition between seven princes has been determined on, for the purpose of attacking her. This news is founded upon motives which would make the Emperor appear what he is not. At all events, the Court of Rome credits every thing that promises a return of the *datary*, or at least vengeance."

The same to the same, Rome, July 19th:†

"Nothing but France is spoken of here. It is an affair which galls them dreadfully, but their grief is always confined to the loss or return of the profits of the *datary*. If you knew the schemes proposed by persons who lay claim to the name of sensible people, you would be thunderstruck."

* Ibid. No. 126. † Ibid. No. 129.

There soon came to be but one party,—that of the enemies of the Bishop. People began to talk of his approaching condemnation at Rome, and of the sentence he was to undergo—a sentence which would have caused him to be called before the Inquisition, and imprisoned in a fortress for the rest of his days.

In order to hasten the explosion, Fabroni, the principal magistrate of Pistoia, caused one of the altars which had been rebuilt at the wish of the people, to be thrown down in the night. This measure was attributed to Ricci, whose personal safety was now menaced by a furious populace, on account of an event of which the Bishop knew nothing. The Emperor consented, at this time, to the abolition of the greater part of the reforms which had been effected during his reign. But this was not sufficient for his adversaries. They hated even the person of the reformer, and left no means untried to make him abandon his diocese, and deprive him of his title.

At Prato a report had been circulated that the Bishop intended to make a pastoral visit, for no other purpose but that of the altar of the Holy Girdle. Ricci, on this, published a circular, in which he assured all the faithful of his diocese, that he did not wish to demolish the altar, and that he had vainly begged the Government to

allow the cross, tapers, &c. at interments; but though this circular made at first a profound impression on his diocesans, the opposite faction soon destroyed its effect.

At Pistoia, similar means produced similar effects. It was said that the Bishop wished to whiten the image of the *Virgin of Humility*, whose pretended miracles, closing of the eyes, tears, &c. raised the public fanaticism into fury. On the 24th April, 1790, the revolution broke out. The magistrate who had removed the altar was one of its directors, and so managed the ferment as to produce what was ardently desired, the departure of Ricci, who yielded to the reiterated advices of this magistrate, and quitted Pistoia.

Scarcely was he gone, when the people had in a few days abolished many years' work of reformation. The altars which had been demolished were rebuilt, the images were replaced and veiled, the abolished ceremonies were resumed, with all the pomp and circumstance of the church festivals and ceremonies, the books recommended by Ricci were burnt, the monasteries re-established, &c. The few partisans of the Bishop who remained, were styled *Scipionists*, and pointed out to the popular fury, and forced to retire from the town. In short, every thing was replaced on the old footing.

Ricci, on his retirement, preserved all his firmness, which was joined with resignation. His curates testified their admiration of and regard for their Bishop, and informed him of the evils under which they were suffering. In reply, Ricci exhorted them to do all in their power to support the true Catholic Faith; but he said nothing on the abolition of discipline then prevalent. Some of them, who had recanted the principles they professed under Ricci, again confessed their belief in them, as publicly as they had once retracted them.

But the retreat of Ricci had not the effect of restoring order in the diocese of Pistoia. His adversaries were supported by the Regency and the local magistrates, who even refused him permission to publish a circular addressed to his curates, because he therein called them *his brethren*. This culpable condescension, on the part of the Government, to the wishes of the mob, speedily rendered the revolt general throughout Tuscany. It broke out at Florence, 8th June, 1790, and the people found no difficulty in procuring, with other privileges which they demanded, the abolition of all the ecclesiastical reforms.

At this time, an English Catholic lady, believing Ricci's life in danger, offered him letters and money to enable him to seek protection else-

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where. He retired, however, to his villa when he received intelligence that the Emperor Leopold had given up the Grand-duchy to his son Ferdinand, and that he had no longer any hope of suppressing the disorders. However, Leopold sent him the most flattering testimonies of his esteem, in several letters written in his own hand.

As soon as the new Grand-duke's arrival was announced in Tuscany, the enemies of Ricci seized the opportunity of demanding that Ricci should be deposed. But as the Emperor had signified his order for the re-installation of the Bishop before he should arrive in Tuscany with his son, the Regency thought this would be a good opportunity to raise anew the popular discontents, by publishing that fact. Instead of doing any thing to quell them, they sent orders to Ricci desiring him to return to Pistoia.

The prelate replied, that before he decided on exposing himself to new affronts, the Government ought to punish the rebels, and calm the spirits of the populace ; that his departure from his diocese had been forced, and that his return, in like manner, depended on their acts, and not on himself.

Ricci had no wish to return to his diocese ; but he wished, if this were insisted on, that his residence there might at least be rendered *possible.* He refused to do any thing that might dishonour

himself, or consent to make any confession which should hurt his conscience; and though strongly pressed by Leopold, he remained firm in his ancient opinions, and " he continued, (says his biographer) to hold fast the canonical doctrines which he had always professed."

The Emperor re-iterated his orders to the Regency in the most formal terms; but no steps were taken to put an end to the troubles. The Government gave orders a second time, however, for Ricci to return to Pistoia, as Leopold and his son were daily expected; and this order created a great effervescence throughout the whole of Ricci's diocese.

The Emperor arrived about the middle of April 1791. The malcontents of Pistoia presented a request to his Majesty, that he would deliver them from their Bishop; but they were very coolly received. The Bishop was received in a very different manner by Leopold, as well as by the Prince, who gave him a public audience, in which he assured him of his support. This encouraged his adherents in the two dioceses, who earnestly demanded the return of their pastor. But it was already determined that the repose of the country should be purchased by the dismission of Ricci, and Leopold hinted this to him distinctly in their last interview. The report of his dis-

missal, which was soon spread through the diocese, threw the faithful into the deepest distress.

But the moment for accomplishing his utter ruin was not yet come. His enemies, however, continued to keep up the cry against him, and repeated till they fancied they understood their own meaning, *that Ricci did not believe in the Pope.*

The Grand-duke addressed himself to the persecuted prelate, and desired to know what it was his intention to do. Ricci left the decision of the question entirely to Ferdinand, and wrote to him to that effect. The Grand-duke answered his letter on the 3rd of June, and sent him a form of resignation, which Ricci only modified so far as to render it canonical, and signed it the same day. He added a letter to the Pope, in which, after expressing his hopes that a better and more fortunate pastor might do the good he wished to have done, he took occasion to protest that he was sincerely and humbly attached to the Pontiff.

The Government, touched by the docility of the prelate, granted him a pension equivalent in value to his bishoprick. The Pope, in a letter written by himself, replied in a very handsome manner, but made no allusion to the subjects of complaint against the ex-Bishop of Pistoia.

When Ricci was about to leave his diocese for ever, all those who were not quite his enemies

expressed their regret at losing him, either in person, or by letter ; and of this, which was the only consolation now left to him, Ricci was extremely sensible. He retired to the country, and occupied himself in the composition of a letter to his ex-cooperators and diocesans, which, however, the Government would not allow to be published. But it was in vain that he retired from public life. While a public man, only his system and his enterprises had been attacked : now, the attacks were turned upon himself personally. The first attempt made on him was in the shape of a long lawsuit, which went to deprive him of the pension which had been promised him. He refused, however, to plead the cause, and preferred renouncing the salary.

Another source of regret was, to see his successor, Falchi, confirm all that had been perpetrated by the ignorant and turbulent persons of his diocese ; the banishment of all attached to his person or opinions ; and lastly, the desolation of the ecclesiastical patrimony raised for the payment of the clergy.

The ex-Bishop led, amidst all these events, quite a retired life, amidst country amusements and occupations, forgetting the promises of titles, &c. which had been held out to him by the Government as a compensation for the loss of his Bi-

shopric, as easily as these promises had been forgotten. The Emperor occasionally wrote to him; but Ricci, under the circumstances, neglected to reply, and the Emperor died in March 1792.

This event removed all restraint upon the enemies of Ricci, and especially from Falchi, who immediately invented a report that the late diocesans of Ricci (whom Falchi had banished) had kept up a correspondence with their late Bishop, on the best means of poisoning him (Falchi); and, in this pretended belief, he drew up an absurd declaration, which only published to the world the folly of his atrocious suspicions.

The Court of Rome now determined to interfere in these persecutions of Ricci, especially when it discovered that the Synod of Pistoia had served as a model for the civil constitution of the clergy, recommended by the French Constituent Assembly. Pius the Sixth had begun by fulminating the most outrageous declarations against the French. Afterwards he attacked the Bishop of Pistoia; and it was determined, at one time, to cite Ricci before the Papal Court. The success of the French arms, however, and the indignation they felt at the interference of the Pope, stopped this for a time.

The Abbé Y. and other eye-witnesses of these extravagances and horrors, (all of them persons

of irreproachable character,) give Ricci an account of them in the following manner :

The Abbé Y., Rome, Oct. 26th, 1792 :*

" He says, that the conquest of Savoy and of the county of Nice, almost without resistance, had already raised apprehensions of the arrival of the French at Rome. It was with fear and trembling they recollected the insults they had heaped upon France, and the injuries they had endeavoured to inflict upon her ; but not being able to recall the past, they took up arms."

The same to the same ; Rome, Dec. 21st : †

After having spoken, in several of his letters, of the Pope's preparations for war, to such an extent, that the capital of Catholicism resembled a camp ;—after having said that the good understanding which then existed between the King of Naples and France, caused deep regret to the Court of Rome, which was desirous of strengthening itself by all the forces of the Neapolitans, in order the better to resist the French, the Abbé Y. adds, " The Secretary of the French ministry at Naples (the unfortunate Basseville) is still here. He sees the Chevalier Azara very often, and has long conferences *with* him : notwithstanding, the armament in preparation is much listened to."

* Ibid. anno 1792, No. 211. † Ibid. No. 256.

The Abbé Masi (Ricci's agent at Rome) to the same; Rome, without date: *

He gives an account of the tumults which preceded Basseville's death, as well as the murder of that French envoy, with the particulars then published, and which are sufficiently known. He is silent upon the indiscretions calculated to provoke a mob—indiscretions which, it was afterwards said, had been committed by some young pupils of the French Academy, and which had aroused the fanaticism of the Romans. This is a strong proof, that if these things were true, at least they did not originate those dreadful excesses which, after the event, they were adduced to palliate. The Abbé Masi also speaks of the attack made by the mob upon the Palace of the Fine Arts of France, and upon the quarter of the Jews. He gives the particulars of Basseville's repentance, when dying of his wounds, and of the notable conversion of that zealous Republican.

The Abbé Y. to the same, Rome, Jan. 16th: †

He forwards Ricci the edict just published by order of the Pope, in order to allay the ferment of the popular mind, after the horrid scenes we have just mentioned. This edict is very unimportant: what the Holy Father appears to have had most at heart, is to evince to the Roman

* Ibid. anno 1793, No. 10. † Ibid. No. 11.

people his gratitude and sensibility for the marks of attachment to religion, and of affection for his person, which they showed on that occasion. Let us recollect that the affair in question was the murder of Basseville, and the threat of death to all Frenchmen: it is true, it was in the name of the Holy Apostles and the Pope.

The same to the same, Rome, 1793:*

He gives him a detailed account of all that took place, commencing with the arrival at Rome of the naval officer La Flotte, to support the negotiations of the Secretary Basseville, and the French consul Digné, who wished to substitute the new arms of the French Republic for the Bourbon Lilies, which had been taken down for some time. What proves that the people did not act from their own impulse, is, that they committed no theft whilst they were destroying the residence of Mont, the French banker, where Basseville was assassinated, nor when they proceeded to the French Academy, where they demolished the casts. They then went to break the windows of the banker Turlonia, and of Madame Chiaveri, (now the Duke and Duchess of Bracciano,) the friends of Mont and of the French.

But the principal efforts were directed against

* Ibid. No. 12.

the *Ghetto* (the quarter of the Jews), whose pillage had perhaps been promised to the Roman mob, as a reward for the murder of the Republicans, and whom fanaticism held forth to the blood-thirsty Catholics as the enemies of their God. M. Y. informs us, that it required all the efforts of several thousands of soldiers to prevent all the Jews, who had shut themselves up in their houses, from being burnt to death. The Romans demanded, with loud cries, permission to burn them in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, of religion and his Holiness: the shouts of *hatred and death* to the French were mingled with these transports of ferocious devotion. "The outcries commenced in the midst of gangs of barbers and postilions, among whom were also some Abbés of respectable families. To satisfy the people, Pius the Sixth condescended to subject the Jews again to all restrictions, duties, penalties, exactions, and to the distinguishing and infamous marks to which Pius the Fifth had condemned them, and which the progress of civilization, the friend of knowledge, of justice, and of humanity, had abolished."

The Abbé Troisi to the same; Naples, January 19th:*

"The news from Rome has filled us with horror. I think that this event (Basseville's murder)

* Ibid. No 14.

has decided the fate of Babylon. God can bring good out of evil; it is the usual course of his providence."*

The Abbé Masi to the same; Rome, 19th January:†

He relates the consequences of the late tumult at Rome, and the edict published by the Pope against the Jews, (probably to punish them for not having been burnt.)

The same to the same; Rome, 13th February:‡

Fresh troubles at Rome, as violent as the former ones; but providentially without any persons losing their life. The cause was a violent dispute between one of the servants of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Zelada, and the overseer of the hospital of St. Louis-des-François. The French who were in the establishment, were removed and taken to the Castle of St. Angelo, in order to save them from the fury of the populace.

The same circumstance is mentioned by the Abbé Y. in a letter dated the 15th February:||

* The author of this letter, the venerable prelate Troisi, was himself the victim of the horrible reaction of 1799, in his own country, together with the Bishop of Vica, the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, &c.—Cuoco, Saggio Storico sulla Rivoluzione di Napoli, § 51, p. 52.

† Lettere diverse, anno 1793, No. 13. ‡ Ibid. No. 33.

|| Ibid. No. 34.

M. Y. to the same; Rome, 1st March:*

The news of the indignation with which the French people and its Government learnt the excesses committed at Rome, has increased the alarm there, and augmented the preparation for war.

With regard to the death of Basseville, it is but just we should insert here the documents published at Rome at the time by the Pontifical Government, for the purpose of exculpating itself from all participation in the murder of the French agent.

The first is a "Memorial for the French Consul at Rome;" Rome, 1793, from the press of the venerable Apostolic Chamber.

It contains the Pope's refusal to permit the arms of the French Republic to replace those of the Bourbons, which had just been removed from the French National Academy of the Fine Arts, and from the house of the Republican Consul.

After having proved by so many briefs, how much he condemned the irreligion of the new Republic, his Holiness is unwilling, he observes, that it should be supposed he had changed his opinion upon this subject. Entrusted as he is with the duty of preserving entire the sacred deposit of the faith, he will continue openly to condemn those,

* Ibid. No. 45.

who, in opposition to his decrees, persist in their rebellion to the visible head of the Church.

As a temporal Prince, the Holy Father could not tolerate the insult offered him at Paris, the public burning of his effigy, nor quietly permit the occupation of Avignon and the Countship of Venaissin.

He complains of the affronts offered to the Papal arms at Marseilles, and of the insulting manner in which the Republican Minister had demanded the liberty of two Frenchmen, arrested at Rome upon strong suspicion, but liberated at the entreaties of Makau, the French Envoy at Naples.*

The Pope concludes by declaring, that he cannot officially recognize the French Republic, which does not recognize him either as universal Bishop, or as a sovereign Prince.

Three years afterwards, he showed greater condescension, although the French had not changed in the least degree either their principles, or their conduct towards him: they had only beaten his troops, and from that time, this *guardian of the inviolable deposit of the faith* permits the arms of the Republic, *his best friend*, to glitter in the midst of the capital of Catholicism; he even ceded

* Ibid. p. 1—3.

to it, besides Avignon and the Countship of Venaissin, Bologna and Ferrara.

The second document is an account of Basseville's death, and issues from the same press, in the same year. The French Minister at Naples, Makau, is there represented as having quite recently expressed to the Pontifical Government his just satisfaction for the prompt liberation of Rater and Chinard, (the two arrested Frenchmen) who are mentioned in the document, an extract from which we have just given. But four days after the transmission of the *Promemoria* to the French Consul, that is to say, on the 12th January, 1793, a letter from that Republican Minister was sent to Zelada, the Cardinal Secretary of State, communicating an order to the Consul "to nail up the scutcheon of Liberty within twenty-four hours. If the least opposition be attempted," added Makau, "if a single Frenchman is injured, I denounce against you the vengeance of the French nation; and your Excellency knows I always keep my word." *

Flott had been despatched from Naples, post; he and Basseville, Makau's secretary, presented the French Minister's letter to the Cardinal Zelada. In the audience granted them on this occasion, the two republicans enforced the contents

* Relat. de la Mort de Basseville, p. 1, 9, 10.

of Makau's letter with several verbal menaces, and amongst others, this one, that in the case of resistance by the Papal Government, Rome should not have *one stone left upon another*. Zelada promised them an answer on the 14th January, before which day, he said, he could not himself see the Pope, from whom he must receive his orders.*

These circumstances were soon known at Rome, and the people learnt the contents of Makau's letter to the French Consul, in which that minister said, that the affixing the arms of the Republic was a duty to be fulfilled at any risk, and in the execution of which all the French residing at Rome ought to combine their efforts: it was of the utmost importance, added he, that no *sacerdotal hand should profane* by any opposition this legitimate exercise of their liberty.†

The Roman people, much attached to its religion and its sovereign, (continues the ministerial pamphlet,) and already irritated by the insults offered by the new republicans to the supreme head of the Church and his Government, were exasperated to the utmost at the mention of affixing the arms. The state of popular ferment was still farther increased, when it was learned that the bust of the King of France, and those of several Popes and Cardinals, had been removed from the

* Ibid. p. 2. † Ibid. p. 3.

Academy of the Fine Arts, and had been replaced by the bust of Brutus, which, tricked out with cockades and tri-coloured ribbons, received the homage and *sacrifices* of the friends of Liberty. The city militia received orders to patrole the city in order to prevent commotions.*

On the 13th January, at a quarter past four in the afternoon, an open carriage, in which were Flott, Basseville, and several other persons, wearing the tri-coloured cockade, as well as the coachman and servants, crossed the Place Colonna; one of the persons inside the coach held a small Republican flag. The mob shouted, hooted, threatened, and threw stones; a pistol fired near these imprudent people increased the tumult, and the coach sought refuge under the gateway of Mout, the banker of Provence. The people followed it, crying out: "Long live St. Peter!" "Long live the Catholic faith!" "Long live the Pope!" They forced their way into the house, and pursued the French into the apartments, and attacked them there. It was then that Basseville, while defending himself, received a stab in the belly with a knife. The French academy was treated in a similar manner to Mout's house. Nothing was stolen, but every thing was spoilt and broken to pieces. The mobs

* Ibid. p. 4.

before the Academy, where the people never ceased shouting and breaking the windows, could not be dispersed; it was not even without the greatest difficulty that the fire was got under which had been kindled in order to burn it to the ground.*

During the three following nights, the mobs proceeded to the Ghetto (the quarter of the Jews) for the purpose of pillaging it, threatened several houses in the city, and damaged several shops. On the night of the 14th, these bands presented themselves before the Palace of the Vatican, to declare to the Pope their intention of burning the Jews in their habitations.†

The Pope in the mean time, it is said, was wholly interested about the French, the authors of these disorders. Basseville was attended by his own surgeon, and the police were ordered to make search for the murderer. He afforded Flott, as well as Basseville's wife and son, the means of escaping from the fury of the populace, and proceeding to Naples; and gave them seventy crowns for their travelling expenses. He ordered guards to be placed before the Academy of Florence, the Post-office, &c. Basseville died of his wounds on the night of the 14th, and was buried in the parish church, as he had requested. The expense

* Ibid. p. 5. † Ibid. No. 6.

of the funeral, the burial service, and the masses, were defrayed by the Papal Government.*

The priest who attended him in his last moments, declared in writing that he died a good Catholic; that he deplored his misfortunes in dying the victim of a madman (Makau); that he pardoned his murderer; that he offered his apologies to the Cardinal Secretary of State for the scandalous scene which had taken place at his audience; that before the sacramental confession he had abjured the oath of fidelity he had taken to the French nation and its representatives. "This oath," says the worthy Romish Priest, if we may believe the ministerial pamphlet, "is that which was required by the civil constitution from the French clergy." Basseville also retracted the other oath, concerning liberty and equality—and in short, (such are the expressions Basseville himself is made to utter,) "all that he had done contrary to the laws of the Catholic Church, in order to enable him, in his present situation, to receive the most holy sacraments." Basseville desired that this retractation might be made public.

This, says the pamphlet in conclusion, is the true account of all that has taken place; Rome, January 16, 1793.

* Ibid. p. 7.

Ricci was now resolved to live altogether in private, in order to avoid giving his enemies any pretences for farther persecution. This, however, did not prevent him from attending to his religious duties; and these he diversified with walking, the study of the Holy Scriptures, and the composition of two pious works. His buildings and his occupations were devoted to the benefit of the poor: and while he employed himself in furthering the welfare of his fellow creatures, he could not help being grieved at the conduct of those whose duty it was to ameliorate their condition, instead of rendering it more perilous and painful.

It was in this light that he regarded the conduct of the Roman Court, which was then preaching up a crusade against the French, and inflaming the people by noisy and turbulent missions. This produced the massacre of Basseville, and the popular tumult which was excited by the priests, who determined, in the name of the Virgin, the Apostles, and the Pope, to murder all the French, and burn all the Jews who were to be found in Rome. Ricci's biographer adds, that such infamous policy as this only rendered the situation of the Pope more critical, and tended to hasten the fall of the Papal throne.

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Ricci was consulted about this time by his French friends relative to the civil constitution of the clergy; and we shall here give some of the queries upon this subject, addressed to the venerable Bishop of Pistoja and Prato.

Le Long du Clâtres, formerly a captain of cavalry, and knight of the royal and military order of St. Louis, to Ricci, Senlis, January 19th, 1791:*

His questions concern the constitutional oath, allowed or condemned by the laws of religion and before God; whether the election and institution of bishops and priests taking the oath are canonical; upon the competency of the French National Assembly to effect the changes they have introduced in the existing discipline, and upon the legality of the sale of national property.

Miss Freeman Shepherd, (a nun, who had known the Bishop Ricci in Tuscany, and had herself offered him pecuniary aid to induce him to escape from the troubles excited against him by the enemies of reform,) to the same, Paris, April 10th:†

She consults Ricci, in the name of her companions, upon the permission of taking the civic oath; of recognizing the constitutional bishops and curates, who had replaced those that had been

* Lettere diverse, anno 1791, No. 14. † Ibid. No. 67.

removed, in a manner, she thinks, contrary to the canons, and who were not resignées (*demissionaires*): she inquires if it be lawful to confess to priests who have taken the oath.

Clement de Barville (brother of the Abbé Clement, since Bishop of Versailles,) to the same, Paris, April 12th:*

He communicates several questions to him, which had been addressed to him by a person of great piety, for the purpose of being satisfied respecting the oath of fidelity to the civil constitution of the clergy, the legitimacy of the new bishops, &c. who have superseded the nonjurors, and concerning the permission to assist at the religious rites performed by them.

The Abbé Clement to the same, Livry près Paris, the 17th April:†

He proves to Ricci the necessity under which the French National Assembly found itself, of changing almost the entire body of the clergy of the kingdom, who showed themselves rebellious to its laws, and who threatened, if retained, to overthrow the new order of things. "In this grand revolution," continues he, "can we not perceive the work of the Most High, the natural end of that overthrow, which, eighty years ago, this same clergy effected of the most valuable doc-

* Ibid. No. 68. † Ibid. No. 7.

trines, of evangelical morality, of sound discipline, and of all the virtues, intelligence, and useful establishments, of which France could boast?" He concludes by declaring that in his opinion the new clergy are perfectly conformable to the canons.

This was not the opinion of all Jansenists. Solari, Bishop of Moli, the zealous and courageous defender of the Synod of Pistoja, even after the Bull *Auctorem Fidei* had been fulminated against that assembly, always manifested an opposition to the constitutional clergy of France: this he did not conceal in the letters (of the 6th of Sept. and 21st of Dec. 1796, and of the 13th Dec. 1797,) which he wrote upon this subject to Bishop Ricci, whom he knew to be of a contrary opinion, and who had declared himself with equal candour.

Solari broadly maintained, and endeavoured to prove to Ricci by every kind of argument, that the new French bishops were intruders, and that their constitutional Church was schismatic.*

In a confidential reply, in which Ricci generally approved of the constitution, he added, in answer to a question on the obedience due to the priests who had taken the oaths, and who had been substituted for those who refused to swear, " that it would be wrong to risk a schism in the

* Ibid. anno 1796 and 1797, No. 127, 180, and 363.

Church by refusing an oath ordained by the law, which was in no respect contrary to the duties of a Christian towards the Divinity."

Copies of this letter circulated rapidly and widely in France, and finally it was printed, and sufficed not a little to calm the public mind. It was not so in Italy. The approbation given by Ricci to the civil constitution of the clergy was there spoken of as a crime against Majesty both divine and human, which contained the seeds of every thing impious and revolutionary, and threatened the destruction both of throne and altar. The Pope's Nuncio in Tuscany addressed a memorial to the Archducal Government, complaining of such conduct in an ex-Bishop; but the Tuscan ministry, dreading France much more than Rome, refused to interfere on the occasion. Ricci, however, continued to pass for all that was offensive in the word *Jacobin*.

It was not only the Jesuits and their adherents who confounded, or affected to confound, the Jansenists, the reformers of ecclesiastical discipline, and the opponents of the double despotism of the Court of Rome, with the philosophers, whom they then regarded as the cause of all the evils, and with the partizans of the French revolution, whom they suspected of the most criminal intentions. This opinion gradually became popu-

lar and general, says the Abbé Mouton, in a letter which he wrote to Ricci from Utrecht, the 29th of Jan. 1793. This was the most fortunate circumstance that could happen for the offuscating enemies of Jansenism, in the triumph of which they could only see with fear and trembling the fall of those prejudices so long the props of their power. The Pope, therefore, hastened to avail himself of the opportunity of the moment, in order to injure the Jansenist Church of Utrecht. He caused Caprara, the apostolic nuncio at Vienna, to present to the King of Denmark a memorial replete with calumnies against the Jansenists, the subjects of this Prince, and whom he hoped, by representing as seditious, to get driven out of their possessions in Noordstrand, possessions which he coveted, and made application for in favour of the Roman Catholics.

The Jansenists were not backward in recriminating upon their adversaries. They accused them of all the disturbances; nor was this, at least in part, without foundation, for these adversaries had always been the most powerful, and revolutions are never any thing but an inevitable consequence of the injustice and pride of the powerful.

After giving Ricci an account of the abjuration of Christianity by the Archbishop of Paris, Gobel,

and his followers;—of the celebration of the festivals of the Goddess of *Reason* in the Church of Nôtre Dame, of the proscription of the Catholic worship in France, &c. the same Abbé Mouton, in a letter written from Utrecht on the 2nd of Dec. of the same year, exclaims*—"How severe are these judgments of the Almighty; but they are just, if we consider the spiritual apostacy, the long and odious persecutions carried on against truth and its sons, (that is, according to the Abbé Mouton, Jansenism and the Jansenists,) which have preceded this gross apostacy, and of which they are the manifest punishment."

Sciarelli, Bishop of Colle, to Bishop Ricci; Colle, Dec. 28, 1793:

The disorders and the crimes of France had reached their *acme* at the commencement of the revolution, and were beyond the remedy of any earthly power. The persecutions, the exiles, the massacres, suffered by the holy confessors of the Port Royal, and by their followers, cried aloud for vengeance before God, and before the throne of the spotless Lamb, against a kingdom perverted by the anti-christian doctrines of the Jesuits. *Vindica, Domine, sanguinem Sanctorum tuorum qui effusus est*, (Avenge, O Lord, the blood of thy saints which has been poured forth!) was the

* Ibid. No. 206.

prayer of these blessed souls; and the Lord has heard them: as a last punishment, but the most terrible of all, he has blinded the whole of the French nation."

Camillo Albergotti Pezzoni to the same; Arezzo, May 20, 1794:*

"If the yet smothered fire of France had not been so much fanned by Rome, Louis the Sixteenth would still have been in existence, nor would the massacre of so many Christians in the dreadful war which has devastated Christian Europe, have taken place."

The same to the same, Arezzo, 25th of Aug.†

"I fear the vengeance of the Almighty against Rome, for having excited to such a degree the revolt of the Flemish against the Emperor, Joseph the Second, and other sovereigns, by means of its infamous satellites. These provinces have received the reward of their false devotion."

The better to understand the spirit of the times, and to show how it might have been directed towards a useful and permanent reform, let us add to the above valuable documents a few other letters concerning the principal political and religious events of that period—letters equally important also from the reflections contained in them.

* Ibid. 1794, No. 128. † Ibid. No. 192.

The Abbé Mouton to Ricci, Utrecht, March 18th :*

He announces the arrest of the Abbé Clement, and of his bosom friend, Father Lagarde, a Barnabite, notwithstanding, says he, their well-known civism, (*civisme.*)

The Abbé Y. to the same, Rome, Aug. 15th :†

He says, respecting Robespierre's death, "It appears that his death does not give much satisfaction here, because peace is the general wish at present, and it is believed that peace entered into Robespierre's plans. As for my part, I must have a few more data, to enable me to form a correct opinion upon this event."

The Abbé Clement to the same, Paris, 20th March, 1795 :‡

He informs him that four or five constitutional bishops have met at Paris, in an episcopal committee, to form a central point for the re-establishment of the Catholic worship: he quotes their first circular written with this intention.

The same to the same, Livry, 11th May : §

He describes the innumerable difficulties which surround the reviving Church of France, and declares his opinion upon a national council, which

* Ibid. No. 55.
† Ibid. No. 185.
‡ Ibid. anno 1795, No. 55.
§ Ibid. No. 99.

he considers as the sole remedy applicable to so many evils.

M. Gregory, (Bishop of Blois) to the same, Paris, 31st May, 1796 :*

"Most venerable Bishop, and dear brother,

"This poor Gallican Church is not, then, entirely abandoned by the Bishops of Italy, since you interest yourself in its fate. The storm which has long beat against it, is not yet entirely over. I do not believe that the history of Christianity can produce a persecution of such a character as the one we have suffered. We have witnessed sacrileges and cruelties, hitherto unknown to the human race. Thousands of ministers, equally attached to religion and the Republic, have perished in dungeons, by drowning, and on the scaffold. The Chouans continue to massacre them ; their practice is to seize them at the altar, and drag them into the vestry or the vaults, where they murder them. Many were assassinated the last Whitsunday. The patriotic priests who have escaped from these horrors, driven from their parishes, and worn out with misery, drag on a miserable existence in all the anguish of protracted sufferings," &c.

The *Encycliques* and national council are also mentioned in this letter.

* Ibid. anno 1796, 1797, No. 70.

The same to the same, Paris, 18th September:*

"A new brief from the Pope, circulated in France, and which I know to be authentic, recommends submission to the laws. The title alone of this document seems to announce, that a reservation is made of saying one day that there are Catholics in France who do not communicate with the Holy See; the word *Republic* is carefully avoided in it, and after this dreadful Vendean war, which has covered one part of France with ruins which still smoke, and which was caused by the priests who rebelled against the laws, not a word is said respecting it... We are told that peace (with France and the Pope) is now being treated upon at Florence; and I hope that the Pope will be required to disavow the four first briefs, which, besides the false doctrines they contain in a religious point of view, contain all the seeds of revolt against the civil authority."

The Abbe Mouton to the same, Utrecht, 10th January:†

He announces the suppression of all the convents at Maestricht, and he thinks the same course will have been pursued throughout the territory of Liege. "M. Le Plat (ex-professor at the University of Louvain, and favourer of the reforms of Joseph the Second) will, no doubt, have informed

* Ibid. anno 1796, 1797, No. 137. † Ibid. No. 205.

you, my Lord, of the state of affairs in his part of the world. He appears, with reason, to be very dissatisfied with them."

M. Gregoire to the same, Paris, 13th January:*

"Perhaps you will think that in speaking of the dissentients, I have described them with passion, and in colours too dark; I can assure you that, in reality, the picture is still more frightful. I have lately looked over about two thousand five hundred documents, relative to the conduct of the refractory priests throughout the Republic: the picture is horrible; and when I reflect that the Pope might with a single word put a stop to their criminal efforts, and restore peace to the Gallican Church, how much do I deplore the blindness of Pius the Sixth, and how culpable are those who have turned aside his justice from the right path!"

The same to the same, Paris, February 23rd:†

"Every where, they (the dissentient priests) provoke disorders, civil war, and the massacre of the priests who have been the first to take the oath, and to render unto the Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto the Republic that which is its due. Within a month, in different departments, a considerable number of respectable ministers have been assassinated."

* Ibid. No. 204. † Ibid. No. 219.

Octavius Ricci, dean at Pontremoli, (in Tuscany,) to the same, Pontremoli, June 24th: *

He communicates to him his reflections upon the national council about to be held in France. "Oh! what a sun shall I see shine forth after so much darkness! (he speaks of the anti-Jansenist darkness, which preceded the French Revolution.) The Lord never forsakes his servants, and will reward them even in this life. Oh! what a miserable figure will the Tuscan Assembly make, at the mere appearance of the forerunner of the Assembly of France! Blessed be the Lord for ever and ever! I cannot contain myself, for the reasonable joy with which I am filled. I see that the Almighty vouchsafes to recall those happy days which virtuous men have deplored for so many ages; and the more it is placed in obscurity, the greater will be the splendour of St. Peter's Chair, in the opinion of all who think soundly."

The same to the same, Pontremoli, Dec. 16th: †

"The National Synod of France is over. We shall hear what Rome will dare to say respecting a Church so venerable, and urged by the spirit of true Catholicism to emulate the golden ages of blessed antiquity. I have been faithfully informed of all its operations; and if a blind man may have

* Ibid. No. 288. † Ibid. No. 367.

an opinion, in the approbation of this synod, I see the triumph of yours (the Synod of Pistoia.)"

It will be useful to give some idea of the changes which the Revolution had at length effected in the minds of the Dutch, who, more than any other nation of Europe, appeared formed to remain a long time stationary, and of the influence which these changes had upon their religious system, especially with respect to the situation of the Catholic-Jansenist Church.

The Abbé Mouton to the Bishop Ricci, from Utrecht, 24th July, 1796 :*

"Thank God, every thing goes on here peaceably. Although there are many changes in civil and political matters, no innovations are made in those of religion. The Missionary party (the Catholics united to Rome) have appeared desirous to avail themselves of circumstances, in order to give themselves a bishop of their own choice. The Government have made no opposition; but the division which arose amongst themselves respecting it, and especially the opposition of the regular clergy, appear to have induced them to give up the project."

The following year, (Aug. 30th, 1796,)† he says: "Our National Assembly has made a decree

* Ibid. anno 1795, No. 138.

† Ibid. anno 1796, 1797, No. 121.

respecting religion, which reduces the Protestants to the state to which they had reduced us for more than a century. They are only allowed the private exercise of their worship, without any privilege of the religion, and their ministers are obliged to lay aside their gown and band. It also appears, that they will be deprived of the allowance furnished them by the State; but this will not take place for six months."

Ricci remained in correspondence with the Church of Utrecht. We have a letter written to him by the Archbishop J. J. Van Rhyn, recommending himself and his Church to the prayers of the Bishop of Pistoia, and to those of Sciarelli, Bishop of Colle; it is dated the 24th of November, 1797:*

While the French conquests were threatening the temporal monarchy of the Pope, the Spanish ministry was menacing its spiritual despotism, by announcing the publication of the Acts of the Council of Pistoia.

A letter from the Abbé Y. corroborates what Ricci's biographer has advanced: it is dated Rome, the 12th of September, 1794:†

"The reprinting of the Synod of Pistoia, which was about to be published in Spain, has decided the issuing of the brief (*Auctorem Fidei*), in order

* Ibid. No. 350. † Ibid. anno 1794, No. 205.

to prevent it. The Pope remained a long time in suspense. In fact, the non-publication of the acts of Ricci's synod was in consequence of the fears with which Rome still inspired Spain at this period. The germs, however, of a reform, similar to the one effected by the Grand-duke Leopold, did not on that account spring up the less; and, when the change of circumstances had operated a total revolution in ideas, when it had emboldened the old Governments of Europe by humbling the Court of Rome, their ancient enemy, the courage of the Spanish bishops appeared to revive, the Minister resumed his former plans, and the Concordat he was then desirous of concluding, seemed to be entirely conformable to the principles of modern canonists. The Pope trembled, and the Jansenists mutually communicated their hopes."

The Bishop Gregory to the venerable Bishop of Pistoia, Paris, 18th September, 1796:*

"It consoles me to see that good principles begin to find their way into Spain, where, it is said, several bishops think of reforming many abuses."

The Dean Octavius Ricci, to the same, Pontremoli, 21st April, 1797:†

"I have great hopes from the Concordat which the Pope will be obliged to conclude with Spain.

* Ibid. anno 1796, 1797, No. 137. † Ibid. No. 254.

It is not the Synod of Pistoia which raises its voice, but men who are at length aroused from their profound sleep, lashed by the tyrannical despotism of the cursed Babylon, (Rome). I likewise hope that the synod thus severely treated, will become the model for this portion of Spanish Catholicism."

The same to the same, Pontremoli, April 28 :*

"They write me from Rome, that the arrival of the Spanish ministers causes as much alarm there, as, a short time ago, did the approach of the French army. The latter, at the worst, only exacted a temporary contribution. The former threaten the fixed funds and revenues from which this court draws wherewithal to support its luxury and splendour."

The Papal Court, as usual, tried to operate a diversion in its favour, by ordaining a final examination of the Council of Pistoia, intending to issue a formal condemnation of it.

Accordingly, in April 1794, Ricci received an intimation from Rome, that the Pope would be graciously pleased to hear his defence of his Synod, if he should appear at Rome before the Bull was issued against him. This letter Ricci hastened to communicate to Ferdinand, representing that the Pope had violated his promise towards Leopold ;

* Ibid. No. 257.

but Ferdinand, who was unwilling to give up Ricci on the one hand, and on the other dreaded the vengeance of Rome, recommended Ricci to refuse going to Rome, on the ground of his ill health. He was enjoined to declare his devotion to the Pope, and to insinuate that it was surely unnecessary for his Holiness to occupy himself with the acts of a synod, which were now no where in force.

The object of the Spanish Government in wishing to publish the acts of the Synod of Pistoia, was, that they might serve as a basis to the reforms which it contemplated: and this was the cause of the anxiety of the Papal Court for their suppression. With this view, the Pope caused his Nuncio to give the Spanish Court notice of the approaching condemnation of the assembly of Pistoia, and this sufficed to stop the projected printing of them. Without replying farther to Ricci, the Pope issued, on the 28th August, 1794, the famous Bull *Auctorem Fidei*, of which none of the articles were communicated to Ricci, notwithstanding the Pope's promise to that effect, given to Leopold. Ricci, who had received no notice of his own condemnation, was resolved not to reply to what he was not supposed to know. Ferdinand approved of his conduct, and the Bull was forbidden to be sold or published in any of the

Tuscan States, though the Pope's Nuncio contrived to circulate it surreptitiously among the people.

The Bull did not, however, produce all the effects which the Papal Court expected. It was suppressed at Naples, Turin, Venice, Milan, in Spain, Portugal, and France; and even at Rome it was despised.

The Abbé Y. to the Bishop Ricci, Rome, May 2nd, 1794:*

"At Rome, this affair (the condemnation of the Synod of Pistoia by the Bull *Auctorem*) is spoken of still less than at Florence; that is to say, it is not spoken of at all."

But Rome, though deprived of the triumph she expected, contrived, by her intrigues, to excite against Ricci the envy and hatred of all his old colleagues, particularly Falchi: and however retired the Ex-bishop lived, he could not but feel the effects of these. The people dispersed when he mounted the altar, even his confessor refused him absolution, and he was at last very near passing, in the public opinion, for one of the most dangerous heretics.

It was at this time sufficient to bear the name of Jansenist, to be overwhelmed with all the implacable hatred of Rome, which saw in the Jansenists its most dangerous enemies; and to be

* Ibid. anno 1794, No. 106.

exposed to all the persecutions and vexations which fanatics, bigots, fools, and hypocrites are capable of inflicting. The success of the French Revolution, which was regarded as the completion of Jansenism, whilst both of them were but the result of the greater or less extension of knowledge, had rendered this religious furor much more ardent than it had been before this epoch.

We see, in a letter from the Abbé of Bellegarde to Ricci, written from Utrecht, the 30th June, 1789, that the Count Dugnani, at that time the Pope's nuncio in France, received the Jansenists of Utrecht in a very flattering manner, better even than had been done by his predecessor, Prince Doria.*

We have already mentioned the vindictiveness manifested by the Pope in 1792, against the same Jansenists of Utrecht, whom he endeavoured to drive out of Noordsland by means of the Danish Government. It was generally thought, and not without reason, that the two parties were irre-

* Ibid. anno 1789, Part 1, fo. 216. N.B. The elevation of this Dugnani, naturally caused some alarm for Jansenism. The Bishop Gregory wrote to Ricci, the 18th Sept. 1796: (Ibid. anno 1796 and 1797, No. 137.) "I am informed that M. Dugnani is now a Cardinal and legate at Ravenna, and that this new dignity has perhaps operated some change in his opinions.

concilable. The following is a remarkable instance of it.

The constitutional clergy were held in horror at Rome, but the Jansenists, as being the root from whence they sprang, were looked upon with still greater detestation. They had learnt there, writes the Abbé Y. to Ricci, 18th April, 1795,* that the Abbé Clement, a decided Jansenist, "had a great hand in drawing up the plan of the civil constitution of the clergy; and as a proof of his Catholicism, I have been assured that he had proposed to leave the decision of all important causes to Rome. This was the plan presented to the assembly by those whom they called Jansenists. Such it was stamped, but not such was it approved of,—not, however, through the fault of those who proposed it."

Here then were the Jansenists well justified in the eyes of the Court of Rome, as Constitutionalists; but not as Jansenists. The Constitutionalists themselves, who knew it better than any one, when they were desirous of being reinstated in the Pope's good graces, were careful not to offend the pontifical court by a too marked partiality for Jansenism. Of this the venerable Bishop of Pistoia was informed by a letter from the Abbé Mouton, dated Utrecht, (March 7th, 1797,) communi-

* Ibid. anno 1795, No. 91.

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cating to him the scruples manifested by the French bishops in confirming the nomination of this same Abbé Clement, when elected Bishop of Versailles in the manner prescribed by the constitution. This scruple, says he, arose from the Abbé Clement being a Jansenist, from his having always been in close correspondence with the Church of Utrecht, and with Italian and Spanish prelates professing the same opinions. The most timid of all was Derbois, Bishop of Amiens; and the Bishop Gregory, from whom under these circumstances, adds he, some striking proof of courageous frankness was expected, dared not resist it, because he well knew that Clement's reputation might really prove an invincible obstacle to a reconciliation with the Holy See.* But writers who professed the same opinions as Ricci, published in different places apologies for that bishop's doctrine.

The Bishop of Pistoia received also several letters which, while they commended him for what he had done, and blamed the Holy See for having censured him, endeavoured to console him for the condemnation he had undergone.

Sciarelli, Bishop of Colle, to Ricci; Colle, Sept. 22nd, 1794:†

* Ibid. anno 1796 and 1797, No. 227.

† Ibid. anno 1794, No. 214.

It is curious to hear this prelate express himself in the manner we shall show, respecting the Bull *Auctorem Fidei*, which the Cardinal Caraffa, prefect of the congregation of bishops, had transmitted to him: "I find several propositions condemned in it, which previously to this Bull my limited understanding had considered Catholic ones." On the contrary, we have always seen the Bishop of Pistoia and his followers declare, that they condemned the propositions condemned by the Holy See, and that in the very sense of the Bull—a sense which, added they, never had been either theirs or that of the diocesan synod. Did not those sectaries themselves, like the primitive Jansenists, know what they believed, or what they ought to believe? or rather, did their greater or less degree of faith depend, not upon their more or less share of piety or knowledge, but upon the greater or less strength of their character for resisting the caresses and the menaces of the Court of Rome?"

Camillo Albergotti Pezzoni to the same, from Arezzo, Sept 22nd:*

"The mania for universal dominion always renders the Court of Rome more and more obstinate in the profession of her pernicious, lax and *Loïolistical (loiolistiche)* maxims: puffed up with papal infallibility, she declares war against the de-

* Ibid. anno 1794, No. 214.

fenders of the wholesome doctrine of the Church, which is that of St. Augustin. In the present situation of Europe, the Holy Father excites pity, when he is seen hurling forth decrees of condemnation one after another, which wound the sovereign authority, (he speaks of the Bull *Auctorem*, and guarantee maxims of laxity, (*dei lassisti.*) This is the work of the Bolegni, Cuccagni, Marchetti, Zaccharia, &c. This slow surprise made upon the Pope by the shameless Molinists, against the Augustinian doctrine, is a fresh infallible argument of the fallibility of his Holiness."

The Abbé Mouton to the same, Utrecht, 6th November :*

These are merely compliments of condolence upon the condemnation of the Synod of Pistoia, and the transmission of a long letter inclosed, dated from the same city, the 31st of October, in which the Archbishop of Utrecht and his suffragans the Bishops of Haerlem and Deventer, assure Ricci of their attachment to his person, and renew the declaration of their own adhesion, together with that of their churches, to the holy diocesan Synod of Pistoia, which the Pope, say they, had condemned, to fill up the measure of the scandal he had already caused by not openly approving it.

* Ibid. No. 225.

The Abbé D. to the same, Genoa, 29th Jan. 1795:*

He sends Ricci the decree of the Inquisition of Genoa, printed at Genoa, and bearing the following date: Ex edibus S. Inquisitionis Genuæ, die 19o Septembris, 1794, (from the Palace of the Holy Inquisition of Genoa, 19th Sept. 1794.) This decree was directed against the acts of the Synod of Pistoia, which had been proscribed, as it was expressed by the Pontifical Bull. The Abbé adds to this document, so remarkable for the period, the copy of a letter written by *Frà Benedetto* (brother Benedict) Solari, Bishop of Noli, to the Senate of Genoa, to disprove and combat the said decree, and the condemnation of the acts of the Council of Pistoia, which he declared he would not receive.

The Abbé Y. to the same, Rome, 30th Jan.:†

"The publication of the brief condemning the Synod of Pistoia, has been forbidden in the States of the House of Austria."

The Chevalier John Gianni to the same, Pisa, 9th Feb. 1796:‡

"The declaration of the Bishop of Noli has been read there, that is at Rome, with the utmost indignation: nor has a less sensation been caused

* Ibid. No. 14. † Ibid. No. 14.

‡ Ibid. anno 1796, 1797, No. 17.

by the unexpected critique which appeared in the famous journal, (probably that of Pisa,) whose editor, notwithstanding his attachment to the Court of Rome, and the pension he received from it, has had the courage to attack the Bull *Auctorem Fidei* in three articles, which his Eminence Gerdil has endeavoured to refute in a pamphlet in 8vo. published at Rome."

The Abbé Mouton to the same, Utrecht, 8th March :*

He informs him that he was then engaged in revising and correcting, in his quality of theologian, and native of France, the work of the Belgian Canonist, Le Plat, in favour of the Synod of Pistoia.

M. Gregoire (Bishop of Blois) to the same, Paris, 13th Jan. 1797 :†

"You have informed me that the Bull *Auctorem Fidei* has been rejected at Naples, Turin, Venice, and Milan." He requests to be favoured with the documents attesting this rejection, if in existence, in order to be made public through the journals.

In the mean time, the influence of the French was daily more and more felt in Italy, by means of the Republican arms.

It was in Italy as in Spain. The new opinions,

* Ibid. No. 35. † Ibid. 204.

equally favourable to the governments and the national clergy, no longer finding the same resistance on the part of Rome, which was reduced to defend its own existence, were rapidly propagated, and received with welcome, especially by those who had hitherto been denominated the lower clergy. The French Constitutionalists seconded with all their energy this moral revolution, by disseminating their opinions and maxims, in proportion as they extended their communications, with their correspondence, the only method of at length rendering their Church, if not more respectable in the opinion of the Holy See, at least more formidable, which produced the same results.

The Abbé Clement to Bishop Ricci, Paris, 1st Sept. 1796:*

He speaks to him of the unceasing pains taken by the Bishop Gregory, with the view of reconciling the minds of well-disposed persons of every Catholic country, and of all the faithful having the fear of God. " It is consoling to see the uniform testimonies of this sentiment (the fear of God) in the favourable manner in which Spain regards the circumstance of our clergy being canonical. The episcopacy there considers ours as the sole Catholic one, and it has fully proved

* Ibid. No. 122.

its original value.—Not even the Inquisitions are favourable to it. They have just issued their decree against the opposite pretension of the briefs disseminated through France, and introduced into Spain, which briefs they declare false and surreptitious. Their decree is accompanied with the usual prohibition against reading or preserving them."

The same to the same, Paris, 14th Dec.:*

He invites Ricci, Tamburini, Zola, De Vecchj, &c. &c. to the national council about to be held at Paris the following year; and if inconvenient for them to be present, he begs them, in the name of the clergy of France, to enlighten them at least with their advice.

The Bishop Gregory to the same, Paris, 1st Sept.:†

He thanks him for having consented to enrol himself in the *Société de la Philosophie Chretienne* of Paris, and promises to respect the reasons he alleged for requesting that his name might not be made public.

The same to the same, Paris, 13th Jan. 1797:‡

He would wish the proposal of becoming members of the *Société de la Philosophie Chretienne* to be made to the reinstated professors of the Uni-

* Ibid. No. 135. † Ibid. No. 137.
‡ Ibid. 204.

versity of Pavia, to the Bishop of Noli, and to Father Degola.

The Abbé Clement (raised to the Bishoprick of Versailles,) to the same, Paris, 24th Jan :*

"Both M. de Blois and myself find with the utmost consolation, that in such important labours (the holding of the Council of France) we may be assisted by the most able men of Italy, as well by their pen as by their personal attendance."—He informs him of his elevation to the Bishoprick of Versailles.

The same to the same, Paris, 7th August :†

He announces the convocation of the council for the 15th of the month: and claims the spiritual aid promised.

The same to the same, Paris, Aug. 30th:

He communicates to him how much the Council were affected, upon learning by his letters, that he himself prayed, and had prayers offered up, for its success.

The Bishop Clement to the same, Paris, Dec. 4th : ‡

He announces that the Belgic Doctor Leplat, Ricci's correspondent since the publication of the Defence of the Synod of Pistoia, has been called to Paris to labour, in concert with the assembled bishops, at the re-organization of religion

* Ibid. No. 203. † Ibid. No. 310. ‡ Ibid. No. 359.

in France, which was "*enormously ignorant and superstitious.*" The Bishop Gregory was desirous of proceeding to Florence, to direct from there a deputation which the new Gallican Church intended sending to the Pope, as well as for the purpose of better fraternizing with the churches of the Italian Republic and with those of Spain. The letter contains a postscript by Doctor Leplat.

The Bishop Ricci was also invited to assist at the second National Council of the French Constitutionalists, or at least to communicate to them his counsel by letter, and to prevail upon other Italian prelates to do the same. This invitation is contained in a letter written by this same Bishop of Versailles in the name of the Commission of the First Council of Paris, the 8th of February, 1800, at which time Ricci was no longer in the enjoyment of liberty,—a circumstance of which they were ignorant in France.* The Grand-duke had just signed a treaty of neutrality with the new Republic. This treaty, which banished from all Tuscany the scourge of war with its horrible consequences, was thus looked upon at the Court of the Priest self-styled the Vicar of the peaceful Jesus.

The Abbé Y. to the Bishop Ricci; Rome, March 7th, 1795.†

* Ibid. anno 1789, 1810, No. 16.

† Ibid. anno 1795, No. 42.

The treaty we have just spoken of was concluded by the Count Cerletti. "Here, according to custom, they abuse both him (the minister) and what he has done. But if he could succeed in opening also a negotiation (with France) for the Emperor * * * * he would acquire the praises and good opinion of the House of Austria, let those gentlemen (of the Pontifical Court) bark ever so loudly." The name of *Great Nation* was no longer withheld from the French.

The clergy themselves, whether from conviction, or to pay court to the conquerors, converted the abusive language which they had hitherto employed, when speaking of the French, into the most flattering expressions.

The Dean Octavius Ricci to the venerable Bishop of Pistoia; Pontremoli, June 4th, 1796.

He speaks to him of the pastoral instructions published by the versatile prelates, the Archbishop of Milan, and the bishops and priests of the country occupied in Italy by the French, a nation "which was no longer, as formerly said to be, descended from cannibals, but which, on the contrary, they praised as being full of humanity and zeal."*

The character of cannibals had been generally given to the French in Italy, by all the weak and timid Governments, who hoped to inspire the people with the courage of despair against pretended

* Ibid. anno 1796, & 1797, No. 73.

kinds of monsters whom they had held up as objects of terror in the tales of the nursery. The Papal Government particularly distinguished itself by these puerile follies. It caused it to be reported throughout all its States, that the French Republicans were impious men, and barbarians; that they married several wives, and adored several Gods, amongst others the idol called *the Tree of Liberty;* that they violated women and young girls, and devoured children. This is asserted in a pamphlet published by Annibal Mariotti (*Perugino,* a municipal magistrate under the French), who, upon the entrance of the brigands of Arezzo into Perugia, was arrested, for having, at the time, refuted these absurd Papal calumnies. He was one of the twenty individuals detained for *Jacobinism,* whom the regency of Perugia selected from among a thousand victims which crowded their prison, and whom it granted to the *Aretins,* (who had only asked for ten,) to grace their triumphal return to Arezzo. The pamphlet is entitled, "Observations upon some imputations supposed to be thrown out against Annibal Mariotti, for the purpose of rendering him suspected of Jacobinism. Pontano, June 18th, 1800." Neither the place where, nor the time when it was printed is farther noticed.

As the civil constitution of the French clergy

had been modelled upon the reforms of Leopold, it was neither judged proper to condemn them at Florence, nor to persecute their partisans. Ricci, therefore, thought he might now come and inhabit the capital.

The Court of Rome seemed driven to its fate by a kind of insanity. It issued new Bulls against the French Directory more furious than the first. Another method it adopted was, to excite the mob, by the exhibition of pretended miracles, to renew the Sicilian Vespers throughout Italy. The shutting and opening of the eyes of the Madonnas in the churches and streets were tricks principally resorted to, and were interpreted by the priests as irrefragable proofs of the victory which the soldiers of the Apostolic See would infallibly gain over the troops of the Republic.

We shall merely notice the miracle of the famous Madonna of Ancona; and our account shall be derived from a work published four years ago, so that the reader may see at one and the same time, what was the spirit of those who governed at the period connected with this history, and the nature of the one they are endeavouring to establish in the present day. This work is entitled *Quadro Storico morale dell' Italica invasione seguita nel* 1796, *e del portentoso e contemporaneo aperimento d'occhj della sagra imagine di Maria*

Santissima venerata nella Cattedrale di Ancona: Assisi, 1820: *Con permesso.*—" A moral and historical picture of the invasion of Italy in 1796, and of the miraculous and simultaneous opening of the eyes of the holy image of the most blessed Maria, reverenced in the Cathedral of Ancona: Assisi, 1820: With licence."

The author is the Abbé Vincent Albertini, a native of Ancona, and professor of eloquence at Fermo. After his portrait, which is immediately followed by that of the Madonna, is the *Dedica dell' autore alla beatissima Vergine,* (the author's Dedication to the most blessed Virgin.) Then comes the introduction, the commencement of which is especially remarkable. " Modern policy (it is there said) is wholly occupied with the most moderate plans and systems, with the most salutary amnesties, and with a most sincere and unreserved oblivion (*dementicanza*) of the past, with the conviction that this will be found not a momentary, but a lasting panacea for all the evils which have so long afflicted Europe.*

Certainly M. Albertini cannot be accused of viewing things through a gloomy medium. He commences his subject by a long dissertation upon the eyes so full of tenderness (*amorosissime luci*) of the Virgin. He says, that " hitherto nothing had

* Ibid. p. 9.

been so common as to see these eyes turn towards us, but then it was only from the summit of the Heaven where she dwells." It was for Ancona, to which town the author addresses upon this subject a well-turned compliment, that the rare happiness was reserved of possessing the first image of the Virgin which visibly opened and shut eyes painted upon the cloth, and this at a time when the presence of the French kept up the violent agitation of men's minds.*

It may be expected that he attributes this agitation, which he calls a convulsion, to "the abominable race of anti-social misanthropes, self-styled philosophic regenerators;" † and he maintains that history will confound them with the Ravaillacs, the Cromwells, the Mirabeaus, the Marats, and the Robespierres.

He at length speaks of the miracle of Ancona, which took place on the 25th June, 1796, that is to say, at the very time when the news, which had been spread about, of the defeat of the French in Germany and Upper Italy, had made the subjects of his Holiness believe that all that was wanted to effect a complete riddance of the presence of the Republicans was a small quantity of popular fanaticism, very easy to be aroused by means of some pretended prodigies. "The

* Ibid. p. 30. † Ibid. p. 33.

angels," says the author, addressing his fellow-citizens, " who, upon their heavenly throne, worship with profound veneration their mighty sovereign—the angels, whose countenances we are not permitted to behold, envy in some degree your lot."*

All the inhabitants of Ancona flocked to this image of the miraculous Virgin, and manifested the most sincere signs of penitence, joy, and devotion. The Cardinal Bishop Ranuzzi showed himself among the foremost.†

There was a plausible motive for the Virgin performing her miracle at Ancona, in preference to any other place. The Abbé Albertini explains it to us in these terms:

" The fortunate Ancona, placed in the centre of Italy, is a sea-port; vessels might, therefore, carry in a short time the news of this miracle from the Adriatic Gulph to the most distant nations of the two hemispheres."‡ Our author assures us it was Jesus Christ who conceived the first idea of this anti-republican miracle; he makes him speak to his Mother in the following strange manner: " Go, O conciliating and mediating between God and man, whom thou hast conquered! In thee have I placed the seat of my power. By

* Ibid. p. 45. † Ibid. p. 48 and notes, and p. 102.
‡ Ibid. p. 56.

thy means I grant the favours asked at my hands. As thou gavest to me the essence of man, so will I give to thee that of God, which is as much as to say, my omnipotence, with which thou canst assist all who recommend themselves to thee."*

M. Albertini desires, he says, not the death, but the conversion of the sinner. He would even have wished that the Emperor Julian, whom Christian historians have named the *Apostate*, and whom he calls the *impious iconoclast*, could have seen only once the miracle which the most noble city of Ancona enjoyed for several months together.†

It may readily be imagined that the famous *restoration* of the absolute Governments, which is also a miracle, could not be passed over in silence by the historian of the miraculous image. "All the Italian princes, with the exception of the overthrown Republics, are stupefied, as after a long sleep, in seeing themselves re-instated in their feudal dominions,—an event upon which no human power could have calculated."‡

Then follows the history of the miraculous image placed in a magnificent chapel of the Cathedral of St. Cyriac at Ancona.§

* Ibid. p. 88. † Ibid. p. 96.
‡ Ibid. p. 98. § Ibid. p. 102, note.

"So unheard-of a prodigy was attested by more than eighty thousand ocular witnesses, and by legal inquiries. A true account of it was published at the printer Sartori's, on the 6th July, by order of his Eminence the Cardinal Bishop Ranuzzi, of happy memory. Besides this, the actual deputy, the Canon Betti, made it a holy duty to transmit this fact to posterity, by means of an inscription engraven upon stone, and which, for the purpose of preserving the recollection of it for ever, was placed in the cathedral.*

"On the 25th of November, 1796, was finished the *procès verbal* which had been drawn up of the proofs of this miracle, under the strictest regulations.†

"The Pope, by his brief of the 22nd November, had just instituted a pious brotherhood in honour of this image, under the name of the Sons and Daughters of Maria. In fact, after this miracle, it was found impossible to close the church for twelve successive nights, so great was the concourse of people attracted by the prodigy."‡

If still more specific proofs be required, they are here: "On the 6th of July, three painters, and the Vicar Pacifici, the notary M. François Vallaca, and the attorney Bonavia, accompanied by several witnesses taken from the class of the

* Ibid. p. 103. † Ibid. p. 104. ‡ Ibid.

canons, by many noblemen and some foreigners, went to examine the manner in which the holy image was painted, in order to ascertain with certainty whether some imposture, the work of human malice, had not been introduced by means of the change of colours, &c. Scarcely had they taken off the glass which covered it, when the image opened its ever blessed eyes twice successively, to a greater extent than it had ever before done, and then closed them again, as a still farther proof of the truth of the first miracle."*

It is not exactly clear whence arose the incredulity of the examining commissioners, since the author owns, that at the time of the solemn procession of the 26th of June, the day after the miracle, the Virgin did nothing but open, shut, and turn her eyes on all sides, to the great delight of the inhabitants, who wept tears of joy. On the 26th of June 1800, and the 15th of August 1817, this same procession took place, by way of thanksgiving; but the Virgin did not vouchsafe to open her eyes:† it appears she had seen enough!

Pius the Seventh crowned the miraculous image on the 13th of May, 1814, an event which was commemorated by an inscription. He fixed its anniversary on the second Sunday of the same month, and attached to it the benefit of a plenary

* Ibid. p. 105. † Ibid.

indulgence. This was not the only one. The Abbé Albertini says, that it would require too much time to make a catalogue of the plenary and partial indulgences granted by the Popes Pius the Sixth and Seventh in favour of this image.*

Finally, I shall give from the same author another proof, to which he appears to attach greater importance, as it was certainly unexpected by every body.

General Bonaparte, who arrived at Ancona a short time after the pretended miracle had been worked, caused the miraculous image to be brought by the canons of the Cathedral to the Palace Trionfi, where he was lodged. He caused it to be stripped of all its rich ornaments and jewels, which he gave over into the hands of the President of the Municipality, to be given in aid of the poorest hospital in the city. The lawyer Bonavia, a partizan of the French, although a devout man, then related to the General all that had taken place, and corroborated his account by the testimony of one hundred thousand persons, all present at the performance of the miracle. Bonaparte took the image, and looked at it with the greatest attention for a long time.

"It cannot be precisely asserted," says M. Al-

* Ibid. p. 106.

bertini, "that the Virgin opened her eyes in his presence, but one cannot help at least supposing so." This great man continued looking at the image steadfastly, and suddenly was seen to change colour. He also made gestures indicative of trouble and surprise. "He finished by restoring to it all its jewels and ornaments, (to the great detriment of the hospitals and the poor, whom this new miracle again plunged into misery,) and had it replaced upon its accustomed altar, where, for greater awe," adds the writer, "he ordered it to be covered with a veil."*

The publication of the Memoirs of the worthy Dr. Antommarchi has proved to us, that even in his last moments, the Emperor spoke with but very little reverence of the Italian Madonnas.

"The miracle," says M. Albertini in conclusion, "was afterwards attested by persons of all classes, by rich and poor, by magistrates and private citizens, by ecclesiastics and laymen, by the devout and the incredulous, by Catholics and Protestants, by Infidels and Jews, by all nations, by all climates, by all ranks, as is stated in the certificate which is preserved among the archives of the venerable church of Ancona."† The incredulous, the Protestants, the Turks and the Jews, certainly as little expected to figure among the

* Ibid. p. 107. † Ibid. p. 108.

witnesses of a miracle operated by and for the profit of the Court of Rome, as the Emperor Napoleon himself did.

On the 22nd of September, the miracle continuing to be regularly shown to the curious, the Emperor of Germany caused a solemn procession to be made, offered a rich gift in wax-lights, and appropriated a large sum of money for the celebration of masses. Amelia, then Duchess of Parma, embroidered with her own hands some valuable tissues, and sent them to the Holy Virgin.

The Queen of Etruria, who died Duchess of Lucca a short time ago, not less devout than those sovereigns of a legitimate race, was so struck by the victorious logic of M. Albertini, that she had formed the idea of bearing him from his University of Fermo, in order to make use of him herself in *enlightening* her own university, to the great edification of her subjects. We are not aware whether the reigning King-duke, her son, has persevered in this her pious intention. We shall here quote some passages from letters received by Bishop Ricci at this time, and in which mention is made of the pretended miracles of the Virgin, of the war carried on against the Pope by General Bonaparte, of the negotiations between the Republic and the Court of Rome, &c.

The Dean Octavius Ricci, to the Bishop Ricci, Pontremoli, 23rd July, 1796 :*

" The miracles of the images of Ancona, Rome, Cività Vecchia, Macerata, and Ascoli, occupy every person's attention to such a degree, that the French are no longer spoken of."

The Abbé Mouton, to the same, 30th Aug. :†

" It appears that the Pope's negotiators in France have not been successful in their commission, and it is said, because they were too cunning. The momentary success of General Wurmser persuaded M. Pieracchi that he should be in no haste to treat with the French Directory. He, however, presented himself on the appointed day; but to excuse his entering into negotiations, he affected not to be able to find his powers. Upon the arrival of bad news, the powers were found, but the Directory told him they had no time to hear him. The public papers even pretend that he had received orders to quit within twenty-four hours; and it is believed that after the taking of Mantua, Bonaparte will advance towards Rome."

The Dean Ricci to the same, Pontremoli, 13th October :‡

* Lettere diverse, anno 1796, 1797, No. 97.

† Ibid. No. 121. ‡ Ibid. No. 149.

"You will doubtless have read Bonaparte's letter to Cardinal Mattei. He speaks in it like a great man, and in a manner very humiliating for the Cardinal."

The same to the same, Pontremoli, 22nd October :*

The same subject. "Such are the reproaches merited by the ministers of the Sanctuary, when they wish to interfere with things which concern them not."

The Bishop Gregory to the same, Paris, 13th of January 1797 :†

"I should not be surprised, and above all should be very glad, to see the Roman Republic resuscitated, and the Christian virtues shine therein with all their splendour. But if the successors of St. Peter continue to be princes at Rome, may God vouchsafe to grant them the qualities of Benedict Fourteenth, Ganganelli!"

The Chevalier John Gianni, Leghorn, 3rd February :‡

After having spoken of the rupture between France and Rome, and of the ridiculous war about to follow, he says, "I think that upon the first defeat of the blessed Papal troops, already prepared by holy exercises to mount into Heaven, after

* Ibid. No. 151. † Ibid. No. 204.
‡ Ibid. No. 209.

having died in the act of destroying their fellow creatures, the Pope will not be a little alarmed, &c. &c. . . . ." Recourse would soon be had to the assistance of the third party to remedy the evil, "in order, as the Romish priests generally express themselves, that the enemies of Rome's sovereign may consent at least to respect the rights and the interests of the Church. In this case, the Prince mediator would have a fine opportunity of employing all his efforts in cleansing from so much filth, the minds and morals of Babylon, (Rome.)"

Bishop Gregory to the same, Paris, 23rd February :*

"God grant that the head of the Church, instead of a temporal court, may have for the future only fellow labourers in the vineyard of the Lord! abuses would then disappear, and the successors of St. Peter would become more respectable and more respected."

The Chevalier John Gianni to the same, Pisa, 26th February :†

Peace being made with France, nothing farther was to be feared for the temporal monarchy of the Pope, than the continually increasing discontent of the Roman people, arising from the embarrassed state of the finances, which had been irremediably

* Ibid. No. 219. † Ibid. No. 222.

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ruined by the contributions raised to pay the Republic.

The Dean Ricci to the same, Pontremoli, 3rd March :*

He thinks that every good Catholic ought to rejoice at the misfortunes of the Court of Rome, which can alone compel the Holy See to be what it ought always to have remained.

The same to the same, Pontremoli, 18th March :†

Speaking of the enormous contributions paid to France by the Pope, he says, " I was in Rome when the millions arrived from Spain for the arrangements respecting the benefices. Lambertini was then alive, and he uttered these memorable words :—*How good princes are who pay for having a thing they could obtain without purchase!* . . . Every thing now finds its own level. The proverb is but too true, which says, ill-gotten wealth does not last long."

The same to the same, Pontremoli, 24th March :‡

" The Court of Rome has ill-interpreted the miracles operated by the Virgin, and upon which the absurd declaimer dwelt so much in the proclamation which he sent to animate the Roman

* Ibid. No. 226. † Ibid. No. 232.

‡ Ibid. No. 236.

soldiers. Can one form an idea of any thing more barbarous or ridiculous than these vapid harangues? I have added to the proclamation the Pope's humiliating letter to Bonaparte. The return of some enlightened persons is much desired here, who might agree upon the propositions, and give them a Catholic meaning. The money, which for so many years has unjustly been swallowed up in this gulf, (the pontifical treasury,) should now return into the circulation from which it was abstracted. God grant that the robber be robbed in his turn!"*

The Bishop Gregory to the same, Paris, March 31st :†

He announces to him that the dissentient French priests are furious at the intelligence of the Pope's having recognized the Republic, by making a treaty of peace with it; and that the constitutional clergy are hurt upon finding that the treaty which has been concluded, does not terminate the schism of the Gallican Church. He testifies his wish, so often, and each time

* Before concluding, we shall add the letters of General Bonaparte to the Cardinal Mattei; the inflammatory proclamation issued by the Pope in order to animate the soldiery; the Pope's letter to the French general asking him to grant peace, and with the latter's reply; as well as several other interesting documents which we have just mentioned, and which are very valuable for the history of the time.

† Ibid. No. 239.

more ardently expressed, of seeing Ricci raised to the Archiepiscopal See of Paris.

§ I. The Italians, to whose obliging disposition we are indebted for all the materials of this work, will not be sorry to see here some unpublished letters of Francesco Milizia, author of the *Dictionnaire biographique des architectes*, of the *Elemens d'architecture, &c. &c.* Milizia was at Rome at the very moment of the change of Government, and he communicated to M. Laurent Lami, (heir of the Senator Adami, whose name he has adopted,) his friend at Siena, all the most interesting news, and the impression made upon him by the events of that period, as soon, and successively, as they occurred. These letters, full of witty sallies, do not possess a mere local interest. They will tend to prove what was, at the close of the last century, the opinion of thinking Italians, and in what manner they viewed the humiliation of the priests, who for so long a time had exhausted and tyrannized over their beautiful country.

Upon the entrance of the Aretins into Siena, the mother of the Chevalier Adami burnt the whole of his correspondence with Francesco Milizia, which might have led him to the stake at which the Jews were burnt. After this unfortunate catastrophe, he could only collect some unconnected pieces which had not been consumed.

Having had the kindness to entrust them to us, we have fortunately succeeded, by putting them together, to produce ten letters out of them, which have here been translated as far as decency would permit.

No. I.

" Rome, August 20, 1796.

" MY DEAR FRIEND,

" I YESTERDAY received your kind favour, but was rather angry; it is dated the 25th of July.

" A thousand thanks for your kindness. All our friends desire to be remembered, and especially my better half. My respects to the Count Carletti.

" The most Holy City of the world makes itself more ridiculous than ever, by its follies; they still persist here in believing that the execrable French are beaten and driven out of Italy. In consequence, a morning or two ago, the valiant Quirites collected together, and with stones and knives gave chace to a couple of French commissaries.

" In the mean time Bonaparte, although reported to be dead, then a fugitive, then a prisoner in an iron cage, then arrived at Florence, and buried in Miot's garden, has obliged Cardinal Mattei, Archbishop of Ferrara, and a Roman Prince, to proceed to his (Bonaparte's) head quarters at Ve-

rona. Had he required, in addition, a dozen cardinals, six dozen prelates, and a gross of abbés, together with sundry dozens of every kind of *castrati*, they must have popped down on their knees before him. Oh what food for laughter! And the twelve thousand French lately arrived at Bologna, and those which are to follow them, where is their destination? Rome is once more in *Carcarellis*. Let her recommend herself to S. Cacò.

"God bless you,

"*Vale*."

No. II.

"Rome, August 26, 1796.

"DEAR FRIEND,

"I SINCERELY thank you for your kindness. My wife also desires her remembrances, together with those of all other friends, to whom you are dear, and who often mention you with affection.

"Remember me to the Count Carletti, and embrace him in my name.

"It appears that the affairs of Leghorn are growing worse and worse. This city is much threatened by the Anglo-Corsicans. On the other hand, the Gallo-Corsicans from Leghorn threaten Corsica. Corsican dogs opposed to Corsican dogs: what confusion! when will it end? for it must at last.

"Cardinal Pignatelli has fled to Naples, for

fear of being transported to Brescia, like Cardinal Mattei, and a certain my Lord Lagreca, who wished to play the *proto-quanquam* at Ferrara.

" The plate of the churches and private houses is not sufficient; what remains will be taken to be given altogether to the *ex-christianissimi.* The number of assignats (*cedole*) daily increases. Then a bankruptcy must ensue. So much the better; one cannot be holy without being poor. Rome wishes to be holy; that is her taste. So be it. Pasquin, with his A. B. C. in his hand, reads A. C. B. Azara, Caco (Cacault), Busca; Busca was Secretary of State in the morning, but at noon!—Command me.

" Adieu,

" FRANCESCO MILIZIA."

No. III.

" Rome, Oct. 21, 1796.

" DEAR FRIEND AND COUNT,

" IT gives me much pleasure to hear you are well. We are so also, and anxiously expect you, in order to laugh with us again and again. I laugh like mad, to see so many fools distracting their brains with politics, and producing nothing but romances.

" Now the Roman gentry present themselves, purse in hand, to make voluntary contributions for the Papal armies, who are to do wonders.

The ladies, too, though without purses, give gratis what they can: would you ever have supposed that the Pope's troops would have amounted to fifty thousand men?"

No. IV.

"Rome, April 8, 1797.

"ASSEMBLIES of Cardinals are held here for the purpose of economizing. Our most Holy Father and Lord has said, it is not the time to economize; I congratulate him. Genoa was asked to advance a million; not a sixpence was the answer. Rome then made free with all the silver spoons, buckles, &c. it could lay its hands on, to give them to the French.

"Riches increase. For a Spanish piastre they give eighteen paoli, paper money. This is the city of soiled paper, with a Pope of the same.*

"Masini is President of the central administration of his Emilia, (the legation of Bologna); he wings his flight towards liberty and equality. He is a greater King than the Emperor, who is himself in the pay of a few merchants."

* The assignats, which had been longer in circulation, and were consequently the dirtiest, were preferred to the new and clean ones which were often counterfeit.

No. V.

"Rome, 12th May, 1797.

"THE Imperial agent is under great apprehensions of becoming a *traspadano* republican. On the contrary, Citizen Masini, a central member, is desirous that every one should be a member, even the Citizen Lami. This word is considered obscene at Rome, and it has already caused some arrests.

"Our lord the Pope has had a retention of urine. Syringes, glysters, and bleedings, are now the order of the day. In the mean time, the Cardinals are thinking of choosing another Vicar of God, who can make water more freely. Venice,* the most ancient of virgins, is most serenely getting rid of her virginity as fast as she can.

"And Genoa, and Lucca! Long live St. Maria, who has nothing to fear! As for us, where were we before our birth? The greatest lords have had the same origin as ourselves. It is time they should remember it.

"FRANCESCO MILIZIA."

No. VI.

(undated.)

"EARLY in the morning of the 1st of August,

* "Serenissimamente"—in allusion to the title of *Serenissima* assumed by the Republic.

the fiscal Barberi was named dictator, *ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat* (lest the Republic suffer harm), and Monsieur Gonsalvi, Master of the Horse (*magister equitum*). Angelucci, the two brothers Bouchard, and Ascarelli the Jew, have all been arrested, and conveyed to the Castle of St. Angelo. The evening, to arms! The squares, bridges and streets, all crowded with soldiery. The Palace of Montecavallo is placed in a state of siege: cannons, baggage-waggons, squadrons, heavy and light-armed cavalry: troops of the line and volunteers, with loaded and overloaded muskets. Who goes there? Who goes here? Back again! No passing here! No walking! General Giustiniani, General Sinibaldi, General ——, in short, all the Generals, are on guard all the night; a night not like that of the Capuchins."

"Item. 2nd August.—Vivaldi arrested, and put into the Castle.

"Item. 3rd.—The fat Camillo, dealer in fried fish at the bridge Sextus, arrested.

"Item. 4th.—The recollets of *Ara Cœli* proceed to the Convent of the Minerva, to celebrate the festival of St. Dominic.

"Item.—The same continued, till the explosion of the conspiracy take place. The arrested persons are conspirators, and they themselves have

publicly and repeatedly declared, that a plot was to be carried into effect on the 5th of August, the object of which was to destroy the Pope and Popedom, the Cardinals, the prelates, the monks, and the nobility. And if this holy work could not be executed on the 5th, it would be on the 8th; and if not on the 8th, on the 15th. But enough, they will give timely notice before proceeding to action, such being the constant practice of all Catilinarians; and, because large sums of money are necessary for exciting the mob, the Jew Ascarelli is among the conspirators, being very rich in ——— debts.

"This is, no doubt, the most deserving of a place among the *fasti* of the Romans; nor is it inferior to that of the Ruelle Madonnas (*madonnes des Ruelles.*)

No. VII.

"Seven Hills, 8th September, 1797.

"MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

"THESE Ruelle Madonnas daily increase in number, in beauty, in riches, and in neck-breaking. The Romans are relapsing into childhood. *Laudate Pueri Madonnam!* (Praise the Madonna, O ye youths!)

"The assignats and poverty increase still more than the Madonnas. Rome is then, according to

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the Romans, in the cow's belly. Jonah was likewise in that of a fish.

"I learn that where you are, people are also arrested for their opinions. This is not to my taste.

"It would be a fine sight to see the King Cardinal of Tusculum, under a glass.*

"Rome fears an invasion of the Neapolitan army. The Pope would not go this morning to the Papal chapel called the *People's church.* He does not like being hissed."

No. VIII.

"Rome, 16th December, 1797.

"We here take holy delight in Madonnas, great and small.

"All is dear, very dear, and consequently very charming.

"The Cisalpines are carrying it with a high hand at Urbino. We must sail with the stream; and if they reach here, we must give them a welcome, and gaily dance the *carmagnole* with them."

No. IX.

"Rome, 2nd Feb. 1798.

"KIND FRIEND,

"I HEARTILY thank you for your invitation to come and enjoy with you the pleasures of the

* The Archbishop of Frescati: he very much feared the external air, and was continually in a kind of cage or sentry

Carnival. We here enjoy a Carnival of penitential processions, for certain holy relics taken from the *sanctum sanctorum*, accompanied by prophecies which promise miracles upon miracles. In the mean time, the French armies have occupied Urbino, Marca, Umbria; and the invasion of Rome is at hand. A very great event:—we must then enjoy it, and laugh at it.

"FRANCESCO MILIZIA."

No. X.

"Rome, 2nd May, 1788.

"ESTEEMED FRIEND,

"ROME is without a Pope: Siena possesses his Holiness. What is our Lord about in your country with Cardinal Zelada? These are grand visitors for Tuscany. Let it take care of itself.

"The metamorphosis of Rome has taken place with the utmost tranquillity; and in all the public squares the planting of the Tree of Liberty has been solemnized in the midst of fêtes and rejoicings. But after a calm comes a storm. The quarters of Monti, Trastevere, Borgo, &c. abandoned themselves to the Devil, and with Christs and Madonnas in their hands, and shouts of *Long live Mary!* rushed against the French, and the new-created Roman Republicans. Some hundreds

box, with glass windows. It was he who so absurdly distinguished himself as to reserved cases; see supra, pp. 10, 11.

were killed and wounded. Another hundred of the rabble have been arrested; twenty have been shot in the square *del Popolo.* Some others will share the same fate, and perhaps a few priests. Marchetti, the priest, has been arrested and exiled. Macherani, Gonsalvi, Barbari, and other noblemen, are confined in the Castle of St. Angelo. Rome is now very quiet; and the Roman Republic, among its municipal magistrates, reckons the ex-Abbé Caforo, and the ex-Father Solari, not yet Milizia. He enjoys the being nothing," &c.

Francesco Milizia died of an inflammation of the lungs, a few days after this last letter, in the same month of March 1798. He was born at Oria, (in the territory of Otranto,) in the kingdom of Naples, in 1725, and had lived a long time at Rome, upon familiar terms with the most celebrated artists, and the able Spanish Minister, Nicholas Azara.

CHAPTER IV.

Various Documents respecting the situation of the Roman See at this period.

We have promised, in the last chapter, to collect the most interesting documents connected with the history of the Holy See at this critical period. They are here, exactly as they were then published; and are worth preserving, as an eternal monument of the baseness of the sacerdotal policy.

They are extracted from an Italian pamphlet, entitled "Raccolta di documenti risguardanti le presenti emergenze tra la Reppublica Francese e la Corte di Roma," "A Collection of documents concerning the present difficulties existing between the French Republic and the Court of Rome," without date, or place of publication.

Treaty of Armistice ratified by his Holiness :— "Having well examined, and maturely considered the treaty of armistice between us and the French Republic, concluded through the mediation of his most Catholic Majesty, and signed in our name at Bologna, the 23rd day of the present month, by the Marquis Antonio Gundi, furnished on our part with full and special powers; by General Bonaparte, Commander-in-chief of the French army of Italy, and by the Citizens Garran and Salicetti, Commissioners of the French Government with the said army; and by Signor Count Nicholas d'Azara, Minister Plenipotentiary from his Catholic Majesty, residing at the Holy See; which treaty is of the following tenor," &c.*

Then follows the treaty of armistice, by which the Pope promises to send to Paris a minister specially and exclusively commissioned, to exculpate him before the Directory from all participation in Basseville's murder; to release those detained for their opinions; and to shut his ports against the enemies of France. His Holiness consents, moreover, to the occupation by the French of the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, and of the citadel of Ancona; he engages to pay to the Republic 21,000,000 of francs—fifteen millions and a-half in specie, and five millions and a-half in merchandize,

* Ibid. p. 3.

to be selected by the French Commissioners—and to deliver up one hundred pictures, statues, &c. and five hundred manuscripts, to be likewise chosen by the Commissioners, besides the busts mentioned of Junius and Marcus Brutus. This treaty bears all the necessary signatures, and is dated Bologna, the 5th Messidor, in the fourth year of the Republic.*

The Italian translation of the treaty concludes with these words :—

" We have accepted, approved of, ratified, and confirmed this treaty, as in fact we do now accept, approve of, ratify and confirm it; promising upon our faith and word to observe and execute it in every clause and article, and never to contravene it, nor permit it either directly or indirectly to be contravened in any manner whatsoever, being persuaded that it will be equally observed and executed in the same manner by the French Republic, and by the General and Commissioners above named. In confirmation of which we have signed with our own hand the present approbation, acceptation, ratification, and confirmation, and we have ordered our pontifical seal to be affixed to it.

" Given in our palace of the Vatican, this 27th June, 1796. " (Signed) PIUS, P. P. VI.

" Place † of the seal."‡

* Ibid. p. 4—6. ‡ Ibid. p. 9.

One may soon be convinced of the little value to be set on the faith and word of the Pope. After the 15th of September, Cacault, the agent of the French Republic in Italy, found himself obliged to complain to the Pontifical Secretary of State of the non-observance of the armistice, relative to the periods appointed for the contributions which the Pope had engaged to make. "Whether the treaty be concluded or not," writes he, the "conditions of the armistice must be fulfilled; the engagement entered into by his Holiness is too formal, for the undersigned to entertain the least doubt respecting it."*

On the 21st of the same month, Cacault expressed his dissatisfaction at the false reports, industriously spread through Rome, of the pretended checks sustained by the French armies in Italy, for the purpose of misleading the people, and exciting them against the Republicans.†

"The Romans," says he, "foolishly raise ridiculous cries of war,—acts which only tend to provoke it, with all its most fatal consequences. They will not recognize the most palpable political truths; they do nothing but spread around a torrent of historical and moral errors. Every one appears abandoned to the delirium of a heated

* Ibid. p. 10. † Ibid. p. 11.

imagination, inflamed still more by imposture and perfidy."

"The enemies of Rome cannot contain their joy at hearing that M. Galeppi has been despatched to Florence, with orders to answer coolly that the Pope cannot in conscience accept the articles of peace proposed. They equally rejoice at the clamours of those fools, who think that the words *a war of religion*, already so misapplied in the abuse which the allied powers have made of them, can have any other result than that of giving birth to individual crimes, for which he alone will be responsible who could and ought to have prevented them. In the mean time, the Pope, relying more and more upon the hope of seeing the French driven out of Italy, suspends the execution of the armistice, by causing the specie which was being sent into France to be stopped. He breaks off all negotiations for peace, which he declares to be incompatible with the Catholic religion and his duty as a sovereign, and issues a proclamation announcing this determination to his subjects." *

In this proclamation is the following passage, relative to the force with which he says he will oppose force: "For this object his Holiness enjoins

* Ibid. p. 14 and following.

all bishops, curates, magistrates, and all others, to encourage their dependants to take up arms, and to incite them also by the sound of the alarm-bell, as was ordered by the notification of the 31st of January, 1793."

The Pope adds, that in the mean time he will supplicate the Almighty, "that he will deign to protect the holy religion and the cause of his faithful servants."

Fresh complaints were made by Cacault on the 28th of September. We learn from them the suspending of the transmission of the two millions, which had been already consigned to the French Commissioners, and deposited under their seal. The transport of the cattle for which the French agent had given his receipt to the Roman Government was also stopped; and the intention was announced of replacing in the museum the statues which the Commissioners had selected in virtue of the armistice.*

In a letter from the same Cacault to the Cardinal Secretary of State, (7th of October, 1796,) he says, "That it was a bad method of forwarding the interests of his Holiness, to heat and inflame the public mind throughout the whole of the Ecclesiastical States, in which a spirit of arrogance

* Ibid. pp. 19 and 20.

predominated, calculated only to exasperate the two parties."*

Upon General Bonaparte's inquiry, addressed to the said Cardinal by the French agent, whether the proclamation above alluded to had emanated from the Pontifical Government, or whether it was to be attributed to the malice of its enemies, the Secretary replied that the Pope acknowledged this manifesto as his, and that he had deemed its publication necessary, in order to be in a constant state of defence."†

Bonaparte, who only opposed the patience of an enlightened courage to the stubbornness of haughty ignorance, resolved to send to Rome Cardinal Mattei, the pontifical legate at Ferrara, a city then in the power of the French. "Your Eminence," wrote Bonaparte, "must be aware of the strength and power of the armies which I command. For me to destroy the Pope's temporal power, the will alone is wanting. Go to Rome; see the Holy Father; show him his true interests; detach him from the intriguers who surround him, and whose sole object is his destruction and that of the Court of Rome. The French Government empowers me still to listen to the proposals of peace. All may yet be arranged. War, so cruel for the people,

* Ibid. p. 25. † Ibid. pp. 28 and 29.

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has dreadful consequences for the vanquished. Avert from his Holiness these great misfortunes! You know how great is my own individual wish to put an end by peace to a contest which would otherwise be terminated without glory for me, as it is without danger."*

The General expressed the same sentiments in a letter which he wrote to Cacault, from Verona, the 7th Brumaire (28th October, 1796):

"I am more ambitious of the title of preserver of the Holy See, than that of its destroyer. You yourself well know how conformable our sentiments have always been upon this point; and, by means of the unlimited powers intrusted to me by the Directory, if at Rome they show any signs of judgment, we will avail ourselves of the opportunity to give peace to this beautiful portion of the world, and to tranquillize the fears and apprehensions of so many people."†

Cacault had, for some time, received no answer to the letters he was continually addressing to the Secretary of State, when the three following were intercepted.

1. A letter from Antoine-Maria, Archbishop of Iconium and Nuncio at Florence, to Cardinal Busca, Secretary of State, dated the 31st of Dec. He writes to him that he had been confidentially

* Ibid. pp. 30 and 31. † Ibid. pp. 32 and 33.

informed by Marquis Manfredini, minister of the Grand-duke of Tuscany, that the intention of France was to conclude peace with Rome *at any price*, and that the threats of its ministers and generals were not in earnest.*

2. Cardinal Busca's answer, (Jan. 4th, 1797,) with orders to endeavour to obtain more positive particulars from Manfredini, without, however, in the least degree compromising the Pontifical Government.†

3. A letter from Cardinal Busca to M. Albani, at Vienna, (Jan. 7th, 1797.) This proves to demonstration the perfidy of the Court of Rome, which empowered the above-mentioned prelate to negotiate with Baron de Thugut, an offensive and defensive alliance between the Holy See and the Imperial Government: the latter engaged to send General Colli to take the command of the Pontifical troops against the French.‡ "As for myself," says the Cardinal Secretary of State, "so long as I can hope to obtain any assistance from the Emperor, I shall temporize as to the propositions of peace made me by the French."||

He despatches the two letters we have just mentioned to Vienna, as a convincing proof (he

* Ibid. p. 35, and following.
† Ibid. pp. 37 and 38.
‡ Ibid. p. 38 and following.
|| Ibid. p. 39.

says) of the great desire the French have for peace. He communicates to Albani, for the purpose of making them known to the Imperial Government, all the arrangements he has made for the due reception and treatment of General Colli at Ancona. He makes that general an allowance in the Pope's name: he requires a corps of Austrians to cover the Romagna, and desires that troops may be sent by sea from Trieste to Ancona. He is wholly occupied with warlike preparations. He describes the solemnity with which the benediction of the colours of the volunteers, pronounced by the Archbishop Brancadaro in St. Peter's, was accompanied. "The ceremony," says he, "was very affecting, and highly applauded."*

He afterwards speaks of his continual efforts to kindle a general conflagration throughout Europe.

"I cannot even to-day," writes he, "send you the pontifical briefs for the Electors of Saxony and of Treves, as you requested, because M. Slay has not yet finished them. Our master (the Pope) does not think it expedient at present to issue the other briefs you have proposed to me, because, being addressed to almost all the Catholic Sovereigns of Europe, this would be to declare, prematurely, a war, which is in some degree *a war*

* Ibid. pp. 40—43.

of religion. As this step of the Pope's could not possibly be concealed from the French, we should, for the reasons I have already given you, be exposed to the whole brunt of their vengeance, before we could calculate upon the alliance of His Imperial Majesty. Your reply on the subject of a religious war will determine the Pope as to the issuing of the briefs, and to any other step you may require of him." *

The necessary consequence of this interception of letters, and of the knowledge of the important secrets it had revealed to General Bonaparte, was an order to Cacault to quit Rome immediately. This order, signed "Buonaparte," is dated Verona, the 3d Pluviose, in the Year Five.†

Cacault communicates this order to the Cardinal Secretary of State, and obeys.‡

Bonaparte, who, it would seem, was unwilling to wrong even those who had been guilty of so much towards him, wrote from Verona to Cardinal Mattei, on the 5th Pluviose:

"This ridiculous farce is drawing to a close! The letters I send you will show you still more clearly the perfidy, blindness, and folly of those who at present direct the Court of Rome."§ He begs him to tell the Pope, that let what will happen elsewhere, he may reside in perfect tranquil-

* Ibid. p. 44. † Ibid. p. 45. ‡ Ibid. p. 46. § Ibid. p. 47.

lity at Rome. "As the chief minister of religion, he shall find, in this title, protection for himself and the Church."

"Notwithstanding this and several other conciliatory letters from the General-in-chief of the French army," says the editor of the Italian, "the following unseasonable and absurd proclamation was issued at Rome."*

"An harangue addressed to those brave men who fight under the standard of the Church for the common safety.

"Valiant Romans! formerly the subjects of Quirinus, but now of the Prince of the Apostles! faithful members of the patrimony of St. Peter, and well-beloved sons of the Holy Roman Church, the long wished-for moment of taking up arms has at length arrived! The iniquities of every kind perpetrated wherever these self-styled liberators have penetrated, these pretended friends, but in fact oppressors and tyrants of the people, have staggered you, and have made you resolutely think of your true interests. The irreligion, nay the most impudent atheism, borne by them in triumph, have made you justly dread, not only to see your holy religion contemned, but entirely abolished—that religion so zealously preserved, and transmitted to you pure and undefiled by your

* Ibid. pp. 48—52.

ancestors. Like true Catholics, you have shuddered at the idea of desiring peace or friendship with the impious; with those who, having renounced the faith you profess, have become more unworthy of your society than the gentile or the publican, to whom the Divine Legislator forbids us to wish good-day. The fatal experience of their ferocious and inhuman conduct towards your fellow-subjects of Avignon, Carpentras, Bologna, and Ferrara, as well as towards the subjects of the other Italian States, whom they have pillaged, ruined, driven from their habitations, and hurried on to miserable death by their barbarous caprice; the unjust demands of so many millions of crowns, and of so many beautiful objects, manuscripts, statues, pictures, and church pictures, the best in Rome, and in the Pontifical States, and this by virtue of an armistice, not on account of a war which you did not wage against them, but as a premium in advance for not putting you to the sword; the still harder conditions of a deceitful peace, the consequences of which are most detestable and ruinous; the continual and insolent threats held out to you and to the Vicar of Jesus Christ, to the Supreme Pontiff, our beloved Sovereign, whose heroic patience they have at length exhausted: have determined you at any risk, to implore first the Divine assistance, and then to

resolve to try the force of arms, to repel force by force, to show yourselves Romans, accustomed from the earliest ages to vanquish the haughty.

"Yes, you have ardently sighed for the opportunity of bringing again into the field your ancient valour, so formidable to the universe. Our supreme master has assisted you with all the means which human prudence could suggest. Heaven itself has manifestly declared itself in your favour, as well by having almost miraculously preserved you unhurt unto this day, the spectators only of others' misfortunes, as by being so visibly warned by the affectionate eyes of the Blessed Virgin, not to allow yourselves to be seduced by your artful and deceitful enemies, and not to trust them either in peace or war.

"Your interest, your duty, the preservation of your holy religion, and that God who is its author, imperiously call for war. Like wise men, you have desired it; you must now prosecute it like Romans, like Catholics, like Catholics of all others the most favoured by Heaven, which has constituted you the guards, the depositaries of the seat of truth, of the infallible Chair of St. Peter. To arms! then, all to arms! Awake, arise like giants, show that you have not degenerated from your ancestors! Be beforehand with an enemy whose impostures you are aware of; but who not having yet

experienced the effects of your valour, despises it. Let him feel to his cost and shame the weight of your arm. History has already taken up her golden pen, to enrol your deeds in the annals of immortality. Europe, from one extremity to the other, has its eyes fixed upon you; she neither doubts your courage, nor the success with which it will be crowned. Our excellent Emperor Francis the Second, the magnanimous defender, the advocate of the Roman Church, in addition to the brave Hungarian, Transylvanian, Croatian volunteers sent to our assistance, has at the first request of our most holy and affectionate father, Pius the Sixth, despatched one of the best, most experienced, and most esteemed generals. In him your wants are satisfied, your wishes fulfilled. He has come with the utmost expedition. He is among you. Does not the name alone of Colli arouse, animate, and revive the drooping spirits of the people? That Colli who for a space of two years has rendered impenetrable the passes of Saorgio, the Thermopylæ of Italy; the mountains of Raus and Brois, whose valleys have been filled up, and whose rugged rocks have been levelled by the corpses of French madmen—this same Colli comes to lead you, not to doubtful combat, but to a certain victory. Like you, he is an Italian; he loves you tenderly, and has a confidence in you founded upon

reasons which none but himself can appreciate. It is now for you not to deceive his expectations; not to compromise both his honour and your own, but to multiply the laurels which already grace his locks, grown grey amidst arms and combats. The glory common to you both, requires you to consider him as another Cæsar, that by your means he may be able to say *Veni, vidi, vici.* Happy are you in having these your hopes so well founded!

"Assisted by the powerful hand of the God of armies, in whose name, if necessary, you will shed your own blood, can you fear a cunning but cowardly enemy, the enemy of God and man; who has hitherto placed more reliance in fraud, treachery, and vain-boasting, than in true military valour? You who will fight under the image of that very Virgin, who has animated you to this enterprise, can you doubt her benevolent and powerful protection? You generous chevaliers, who bear on your standards the effulgent sign of the Cross, do you not augur to yourselves, and believe it written in the Divine decrees, that as Constantine the Great vanquished the tyrant Maxentius by virtue of that sign, which miraculously appeared to him at the bridge of Milvius—a victory by which he established in the capital of the world, and in the whole world itself, the Catholic religion; so you, protected by this sign of salvation, shall tri-

umph over still more impious and ferocious enemies, and shall maintain the same religion in Rome, in Italy, and wherever its Author, the incarnate Word, is pleased to propagate it? And, are not your eyes lighted up with joy—is not your heart dilated with joy, at the delightful reflection, that Divine providence has made choice of you for this great work; that you Romans, the well-beloved sons of the Roman, of the holy Catholic religion, are its most powerful, its most unshaken defenders?

"Courage, then! fear nothing; to arms! Not one of us who remain in our habitations, will be indifferent to your comforts. We shall never cease contributing to your wants: we shall offer up fervent prayers to the most High God, to direct your blows, that they may not fall in vain; and in the mean time, full of confidence, that with such Divine and human assistance you will gain a speedy and complete triumph, we shall prepare to meet and re-conduct you back safe and triumphant to your native city, there to render all together to the Supreme Giver of all good, those thanks, which the effusions of our grateful hearts will inspire. Joshuas and Gideons will arise among you; fear not! to arms! to arms!"

This nonsensical bombast, ridiculous at any time, had become still more so, since the energetic proclamations of Bonaparte had fixed the true

style and character of military harangues. The sentiments expressed in it are disgraceful in the mouth of a priest.

The French General, before beginning his march, likewise addressed a proclamation to the subjects of the Pope, in the country he was about to enter. It merely contained promises of security and protection to the peaceable and unarmed inhabitants, and threats of pillaging and burning to the ground, such villages and towns as should sound the alarm-bell, and of shooting their magistrates. It is dated Bologna, 12th Pluviose, 5th year.*

The next day, he declared his reasons for commencing war.—" 1st. The Pope refuses to fulfil the conditions of the armistice he had concluded. 2nd. The Court of Rome, by its manifestoes, has not ceased arming and exciting the people to the crusade. 3rd. It has engaged in hostile negotiations with the Court of Vienna against France. 4th. The Pope has confided the command of his troops to two general officers, sent from the Court of Vienna. 5th. He has refused to answer the official questions put to him by Citizen Cacault, Minister of the French Republic. 6th. The treaty of armistice is therefore broken and violated by the Court of Rome, &c.

" (Signed) BONAPARTE."

* Ibid. p. 53.

The arrival of General Colli at the Vatican subsequently furnished the Italians with the subject of a ballet, which was publicly represented on the grand theatre of Milan. They expressed in very lively and varied dances, executed by the Austrian General and the Holy Father, all the joy they anticipated in the triumph which they looked upon as certain. Other dances described the rapid defeat of the Pontifical troops, and their flight before a too generous enemy, who a second time refused to profit by his victory. We refer our reader to the witty Lady Morgan.

It was then that the Pope addressed to Bonaparte the following letter, so different to his proclamation to the soldiers of the Church.

"Dear Son! health and apostolic blessing.

"ANXIOUS to terminate amicably our differences with the French Republic by the retreat of the troops which you command, we send and depute, as our plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics, the Cardinal Mattei, who is well known to you, and Monsignor Galeppi, and two seculars, the Duke Don Luigi Braschi, our nephew, and the Marquis Camilla Massimi, who are invested with full powers to concert with you, to promise, and to subscribe the just and reasonable conditions which we hope to obtain. We engage, upon our faith and word,

to approve and ratify them in special form, in order to make them for ever valid and inviolable. Convinced of the sentiments of kindness you have testified, we have determined not to quit Rome; a step which must go to prove the great confidence we repose in you. We conclude, by assuring you of our greatest esteem, and by giving you our paternal apostolic benediction. Given at St. Peter's at Rome, 12th Feb. 1797, in the twenty-second year of our Pontificate.

" (Signed) PIUS, P. VI."

Bonaparte replied:

" Head Quarters at Tolentino, 1st Ventose, 5th year.

" MOST Holy Father, I have to thank your Holiness for the flattering expressions contained in the letter you have taken the trouble of writing to me.

" Peace between the French Republic and your Holiness has just been signed; I am happy in having it in my power to contribute to your tranquillity. I entreat your Holiness to mistrust the persons who are at Rome, the creatures of the Courts hostile to France, and who are solely actuated by those baneful passions which cause the ruin of States.

" All Europe knows the pacific inclinations and conciliatory virtues of your Holiness.

"The French Republic will, I hope, prove one of Rome's best friends. I send my aide-de-camp, a chief of brigade, to express to your Holiness the perfect esteem and veneration I feel for your person; and I beg your Holiness will give me credit for my anxious desire to give you, on every occasion, those proofs of respect and veneration with which I have the honour to be

"Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) BONAPARTE."

These letters are to be found in all the political registers of that period. That of the illustrious Chief of the army of Italy was far from meeting with general approbation in France. French generosity would not allow it to be considered as a taunt, richly deserved, indeed, by the perfidious Court of Rome, but which would have been too cruel towards a fallen and unfortunate enemy. Republican frankness condemned, and with reason, sentiments of *respect and veneration*, which could not be sincere. The enemies of prejudices justly blamed, not the regard which humanity required, but the species of incense offered to an old idol, which it should have been a subject of congratulation to have incapacitated from doing farther injury to mankind. The partizans of the new ideas of equality severely criticized those

gothic forms, which were henceforth useless, unless they were to be regarded as the fatal augury of the return of abuses which they represented as destined to bring back iniquity and slavery.

However this may be, the Tolentino treaty of peace, concluded on the 1st Ventose, in the year 5, (18th Sept. 1797, O. S.) obliged the Pope to execute the treaty of armistice which he had violated. He was to renounce every alliance contrary to the interests of France, and to promise never to afford the least assistance to any enemies of the Republic, under whatever title or denomination. He was to license his new levies, and shut his ports against the enemies of France. Besides this, he was required to renounce, purely and simply, all claims he ever could have had upon Avignon and its territory, upon the Countship of Venaissin and its dependencies, and to make over and cede them to the French Republic. A similar renunciation, ceding, and making over in perpetuity, was to be effected of the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna. Ancona, with its citadel and territory, remained in the hands of the French till the general peace. The 15,000,000 francs in specie due in virtue of the armistice, were converted into 30,000,000; and the horses, provisions, &c. for the army, the manuscripts and specimens of art, were to be given up according to the

armistice. The murder of Basseville was to be disavowed at Paris by an extraordinary envoy and special minister, and the Pope was condemned to pay 300,000 francs to the family of that unfortunate man. Every person in confinement on account of opinions, was to be set at liberty.

This treaty of peace was ratified by his Holiness on the 23rd Feb. 1797, as had been that of the armistice; and the Executive Directory decreed and signed it in the required forms. The French remarked that he who had perjured himself once, might do it a second time, and trusted for its execution to their victories alone.

It is now a matter of astonishment, that Napoleon granted peace with so much facility, and against the advice of all his staff, to the very Pope, who, he has since avowed, had already caused seventy-five thousand Frenchmen to be assassinated.*

We turn now to the consideration of other circumstances.

The wish to see prodigies naturally terminates in the belief of them, and the report of the Madonna miracles soon reached Florence. Some withered lilies placed before an image of the Virgin, were found next day blown; and the Archbishop Martini,

* Antommarchi, Derniers Momens de Napoleon, tom 2, p. 175. Bruxelles, 1825.

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thinking this a favourable occasion to give himself importance with the multitude, went in procession to transport the pretended miraculous image to the metropolitan church.

From that time, the Archbishop Martini became the apologist for, and propagator of all the miracles; in which, indeed, he reposed not the least faith, but it was in his eyes a certain method of keeping up the ignorance and superstition of the people, and of enabling him, by this means, to let loose their fanaticism, which it was afterwards very easy for him to direct according to his interests or desires of vengeance.

We have in our possession the printed accounts of two of these pretended miracles, and we will here give their titles. It is remarkable that it was always before the entrance, or after the departure of the French troops, that the miracles took place. While Tuscany was in the possession of the Republicans, the laws of nature were carefully respected by the saints, and by the souls of the other world.

1. "An apologetic letter respecting the apparition of a Spirit, which happened in the month of August of the present year 1800, near the Hills of Rosano, not far from the city of Florence, written by the curate of Villamagna, with the approbation of the very illustrious and very reverend

the Archbishop Antoine Martini. Florence, 1800, with licence."

This was the spirit of a female peasant, who appeared, we are assured, in a meadow to a shepherdess to ask her for some *paters* and *aves*, which she said she was in want of, in order to get out of purgatory. As many as ten thousand persons at a time repaired to the spot to find the shepherdess, who maintained that she had seen the spirit.

2. " A succinct account of the miraculous production of oil, which took place, or was discovered on the 30th of May, 1806, in the venerable monastery of S. Maria degli Angeli and S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, at the intercession of the blessed Maria Bartolommea Bagnesi, a Florentine virgin of the third order of St Dominic, authentically confirmed by a decree of the archiepiscopal Court of Florence, on the 10th of December, 1806. Florence, 1807, with approbation."

The eager devotion of the Florentines, who were all desirous of procuring the oil of the lamps of the blessed Bagnesi, exhausted the convent. Santa Pazzi, its abbess, *created* seven barrels at a time. The Queen-Regent of Etruria hastened at the first intelligence, and got herself anointed: Martini guaranteed the miracle, and the faithful prostrated themselves.

These unworthy means, however, did not suc-

ceed, and Rome, theocratic as it was, found herself, after all her efforts, forced to become a democracy. Ricci sincerely lamented the fate of the Pope; but, not wishing to range himself with either party, he retired to his villa, occupying his leisure only with pious books, and in the composition of others, up to the time when the French took possession of Tuscany, 25th of March, 1799.

The following letters contain the particulars of the murder of Duphot, and of the circumstances which immediately preceded and followed the establishment of the Roman Republic. Something upon the subject has already been seen in the last letters of Francesco Milizia, which are given in the preceding chapter.

The Abbé Masi to Bishop Ricci; Rome, 29th December, 1797:*

He relates the assassination of General Duphot. A Frenchman, who was in a public-house in the Trastevere (a quarter of the city on the other side the Tyber) with several Roman inhabitants, after paying for what they had drunk, easily prevailed upon them to shout, *Long live the French Republic! Long live Liberty! Long live Bonaparte!* &c. He got them to follow him as far as the French Ambassador's palace, where they renewed their cries, while he himself began to declaim in

* Lettere diverse, Anni 1796, 1797. No. 382.

favour of the revolution. Troops were sent to disperse the mob. Joseph Bonaparte, (the ambassador,) who had descended into the street with several of his friends, (among whom was General Duphot,) for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of the tumult, was attacked by the Pontifical soldiers, and the general was mortally wounded in the affray. He expired, says the Abbé in conclusion, without confessing, and the Ambassador of the Republic quitted Rome in the night, although the Pope had ordered a guard for his security.

Dean Ricci to the same; Pontremoli, the 17th February, 1798 :*

Speaking of the changes which had taken place at Rome, recently become a democratic Republic, he says, that he never doubted "that this great good, of which we are now spectators, would happen to the Church. . . . . The opprobrious name of Court is at length abolished; the haughty monarchy is now annihilated. Would to God that all the old despots of the Vatican lived contemporaries with Pius the Sixth, because, chastised in their own pride, they might prepare themselves better than they have done for their passage into eternity!"

The Abbé Masi to the same; Rome, 23rd February :†

* Ibid. Anno 1798, No. 23. † Ibid. No. 27.

Entry of the French; dethronement of the Pope. "Last Sunday, the 18th of the present month, mass was celebrated at the Pontifical altar of St. Peter by the Vicegerent, assisted by thirteen Cardinals; the ceremony was concluded by a Te Deum, in thanksgiving for the event which had just taken place. The Pope left Rome two days afterwards, on the Tuesday."

Dean Ricci to the same; Rome, March 10th:

He gives an account of the fanatical tumult of the Roman populace, especially that part of it on the other side of the Tyber, against the French Republicans and their own democrats, to the cries of *Long live Mary, religion, and the Pope!* Many lives were lost in it. "What most astonishes me is, that this revolt has been entirely the work of monks and priests. Good God! a Capuchin, the ringleader of rebels! These are terms that fanaticism alone is capable of reconciling. And yet such is the fact."*

The Abbé Masi to the same, Rome, April 13:†

"On the first feast-day of Easter, the curates announced from the altar, that it was allowable to work (with the exception of the obligation of hearing the holy mass) during the two following holidays, as on the other work-days: I believe

* Ibid. No. 40. † Ibid. No. 60.

the same was announced for many other holidays.

"On Monday, the second holiday of Easter, Te Deum was sung in all the parochial and in some non-parochial churches, in commemoration of the foundation, or rather restoration of the Republic. A dragoon belonging to the French cavalry has declared himself a priest and an apostate: the commander-in-chief has granted him his discharge: he afterwards abjured his errors *in manibus* of the Vicegerent, and has again been received into the communion of the faithful."

The same to the same, Rome, May 12th:*

"Although the names of *Datary* and *Chancery* have been abolished, yet the affairs of which they took cognizance continue to be expedited, just as before, and in as great number. The only difference is, that instead of the offices and the officers being as formerly in a fixed place, according to the department to which they respectively belonged in both of the above tribunals, the expeditionaries must repair to the residence of each of the said officers."

In the following letters, the Abbé Masi announces, among other arrests, that of two chiefs of these tribunals, which did not, however, interrupt the operations of those courts.

* Ibid. No. 77.

The priest Palmieri to the same, Genoa, May 12th:

He had heard speak of the insurrections which had taken place in the Pontifical States against the French, in consequence of the troubles excited by their fanaticism at Rome. "We have heard what has taken place at Città di Castello. Is it possible that these fools will not understand that they dishonour religion by wishing to use it as a cloak for their excesses?" *

Bishop Gregory to the same, Paris, Germinal 20th, in the 6th year of the Republic: †

"The Roman Republic is at length established: how much have I desired it, how much have I rejoiced at it! I respect in Pius the Sixth the head of the Church, but I must say he has done us much harm. With one word, one single word, he might have appeased the troubles which distract the Gallican Church: that word would have prevented the effusion of blood—he has not pronounced it!"

The Abbé Masi to the same, Rome, June 1st:

A comedy was at that time played at Rome, in which figured the Bishop of Faenza, as the approver of the liberty of marriage between people of unequal rank and birth.‡

* Ibid. No. 78. † Ibid. No. 80. ‡ Ibid. No. 90.

The same to the same, Rome, June 23rd :*

" *Fenelon, or the Nuns of Cambray*, translated into Italian, has been introduced on the stage."

The same to the same, Rome, June 29th :†

" Yesterday was published a decree for the abolition of all the fraternities, congregations, and assemblies, of whatever institution, with the exception only of the rural brotherhoods, the object of which is to assist the parochial curates."

On St. Peter's day, the statue of that saint was dressed and ornamented pontifically, according to custom, but without the tiara, which was replaced by the Bishop's mitre.

Bishop Gregory to the same, Paris, July 17th :‡

The Pope was reported to be dangerously ill. " We are apprehensive in France that his death may occasion a schism in the Church, if the Cardinals, who are a useless superfœtation in the Church, claim, although dispersed, the right of electing his successor, whilst the Roman people are no doubt desirous, and with reason, of enjoying their rights. Would that you knew what ardent wishes we indulge to see you one day seated in the apostolic chair! You would put an end to the fatal divisions which have distracted the Church, while the Church would shine forth with new lustre."

* Ibid. No. 104. † Ibid. No. 108. ‡ Ibid. No. 126.

The Abbé Masi to the same, Rome, Dec. 8th :*

He announces the arrival of about forty-eight thousand Neapolitans at Rome, on the 27th of November and the following days. On the 3d of December, the report being spread through the city of the speedy return of several thousand French, who had retreated upon the advance of the Neapolitans, the inhabitants of the quarter on the other side of the Tyber, to the number of eight thousand, attempted to scale the Castle of St. Angelo, still in the power of the Republicans, but the havoc made by the grape-shot forced them to retire.

The same to the same, Rome, Dec. 14th :†

Flight of the Neapolitans, driven out by a handful of Frenchmen.

All the arts employed by Rome could not preserve her against the power of France; she was subdued, and became a Republic.

As soon as the Pope ceased to be master at Rome, the new governors, although wholly Catholic, adopted the measures which other governments had been obliged to take, to curb the sacerdotal spirit, and to limit the influence of priests to affairs of conscience only, and to the relations of the other world. This was to call up the reforms of Leopold, the plans of Ricci, and of the Synod of

* Ibid. No. 202. † Ibid. No. 203.

Pistoia, and the civil constitution of the clergy of France. Thus the laws of the Republic encountered at Rome the same difficulties that the enterprises against the Papal Court had always met with. We shall here only speak of the Civic Oath.

1. Scarcely had the Roman Constitution required it of the civil, military, and ecclesiastical functionaries, when it had its antagonists and supporters. Amongst the latter was the Abbé Mastrofini, who had a few years before made himself famous, by endeavouring to prove *grammatically* and *geometrically*, that God is *one*, and *triple*;* which his adversaries asserted ought not to be attempted to be proved in this manner, the desire alone of doing it, being, according to them, a manifest heresy. This strange subject of dispute excited a very smart paper-war at Rome, since the last restoration. (See L'Esprit de l'Eglise, l. 8. part 2. vol. viii. p. 154 and note.)

The title of Mastrofini's pamphlet is: "Propriety of the Civic Oath proposed by the 367th article of the Roman Constitution: a dissertation by Citizen Mastrofini. Rome, in the 6th year of the French Republic, and the 1st of the Roman Republic." It contains forty-three pages, and is dedicated "To the Tribune, Camillus Corona."

* His work is entitled, "Metaphysica de Deo Trino et Uno," Romæ, 1814.

The first paragraph gives no very great idea of the talents of the advocate of the Holy Trinity: it is as follows: "The greatness of Rome revives; that is, the Scipios, the Brutuses, and the Pompeys, are hastening to appear once more on the banks of the Tyber." The author of the *Cri de la Foi* maintains even in the present day, that as it is not probable that the Cardinal Vicar and the *Master of the Holy Palace* authorized M. Mastrofini at the time to publish his defence of the civic oath, this author for having done so is excommunicated *ipso facto*, so as only to be absolved by the Pope himself; that he ought to pay a fine of a hundred crowns of gold to the church of St. Peter, and for the rest of his days tug at the oar of a galley.

2. The Opinion (*Parere*) of Bolgeni also made its appearance, and was equally favourable to the oath. It was reprinted shortly afterwards in a pamphlet, entitled, "Opinion of John Vincent Bolgeni, Librarian of the Roman College, upon the Civic Oath prescribed by the Roman Republic to the public professors and functionaries," Rome, printed by Salamoni, in the 7th year of the Republic.

Bolgeni had been an ex-Jesuit, entirely devoted to the principles of that Society, and for a long time was the intimate adviser of Pius the Sixth.

This circumstance renders his work the most piquant of any.

Although Bolgeni's Opinion had excited the most violent murmurs among the devotees, the author did not the less continue to maintain, that the oath of hatred to monarchy and anarchy, and of fidelity and attachment to the Republic and the Constitution, the only oath required by the Roman Republic, included nothing contrary to religion, and was such as every Catholic might conscientiously take.*

Many ecclesiastics and theologians have approved of this oath. That which was prescribed by the Cisalpine Republic, less innocent in appearance, has been approved of in fact, by its being taken by several monks, priests, and bishops of Upper Italy; and by their publishing mandates and other writings in its favour.†

The Constitution, so it declares, has no connection whatever with religion. The latter is therefore, in consequence of this, replaced in the state in which it was under the Pagan Emperors, to whom however the first Christians owed obedience and submission. The Republic orders nothing which is contrary to religion; but it also does not punish what is only against religion, as,

* Ibid. p. 5, and following.

† Ibid. c. 1. p. 11.

for instance, the violation of religious vows, which only regard the conscience.*

The hatred sworn against monarchy is only external, that is to say, it is only the promise to abstain from every act which may tend to re-establish the government of a single person, and to do every thing that is favourable to the preservation of the democracy. The author had expressed this opinion in his *Parere*, which the Government undertook to have printed, in proof of its approbation.†

Pius the Sixth being consulted by a Cardinal Archbishop upon administering the oath of fidelity to the Cisalpine Republic, assembled a congregation of three Cardinals and a Prelate, who was secretary, and in consequence of their advice replied, that it was not lawful to administer it. The author, who is desirous at any rate of remaining a Roman Catholic and Roman Citizen, maintains that this is not a decision *ex cathedrâ.*‡

The Pope had been officially interrogated by thirty French Bishops, upon the canonicalness of the oath substituted by their Government for that of the civil constitution of the clergy, which, says Bolgeni, had been abrogated. The Pope consulted

* Ibid. c. 2, p. 16, and following.

† Ibid. c. 6, p. 46.

‡ Ibid. c. 9, No. 69. p. 64.

the same congregation, and then replied, that every one should act according to the dictates of his conscience, but that, if any doubt should arise as to the lawfulness of it, the oath must not be taken.*

The Bishops insisted and maintained, that the Pope was obliged, by the duties of his office, to declare categorically whether the oath was lawful or not. He held fresh consultations, and the answer was, he would abide *in decretis* (by the preceding decree); the duty of deciding, imposed upon the Holy See, being in fact valid, but unlimited as to time; that is to say, that the Pope, obliged in conscience to answer, might, if he thought fit, not answer at all.†

3. We shall only quote as opposing the administering of the civic oath, Doctor Marchetti, who has been already named several times in this work, and always as the advocate of fanaticism and superstition.

There is extant a pamphlet with the ridiculous

* Ibid. No. 74, p. 67.

† Ibid. No. 75, p. 68. It is thus that the Popes, to whom our modern governments, with such impolicy, have left the full power of instituting or not the Catholic bishops nominated to the vacant sees, confess indeed that they are obliged to grant the Bulls, but yet reserve to themselves the right of never granting them, if the interests of the Court of Rome, or their own, or some particular desire of vengeance, are opposed to them.

title of "Metamorfosi del Dott. Giovanni Marchetti, da penitenziere mutato in penitente, esposto da Giova Vincenzo Bolgeni, teologo della Sacra Penitenzeria Apostolica, in confutazione di un libretto sotto nome di Fermino Terreni, penitenziere de Acquapendente, sul Giuramento detto Civico," 1800. "Metamorphosis of Doctor John Marchetti, changed from a penitentiary into a penitent, exposed by John Vincent Bolgeni, theologian of the Holy Apostolic Penitentiary, in refutation of a pamphlet printed under the name of Fermino Terreni, penitentiary of Aquapendente, upon the Oath styled Civic," 1800.

We are there informed, that the oath proposed by the Roman Constitution, was condemned by Pius the Sixth, in a brief of the 30th January 1799.*

In 1798, the Pope had sent from Florence, to Monsignor Passeri, Vicegerent, a formula of an oath such as might be administered, if the Republican Government then in power insisted upon that being administered which was prescribed by the Constitution. The Government required this oath from the professors of the Roman College, and of the *Sapienza*, at the close of the same year.†

The constitutional formula ran thus: "I swear

* Ibid. Preface, p. 3. † Ibid. c. 2, No. 6, p. 9.

hatred to anarchy and monarchy, fidelity and attachment to the Republic and the Constitution." The Pope, by his brief of the 16th Jan. 1799, definitively allowed the following to be taken; "I N. N. swear that I will not take part in any conspiracy, any plot, or any sedition, tending to the re-establishment of the monarchy, and against the Republic which is at present invested with the supreme authority; (I swear) hatred to anarchy, fidelity and attachment to the Republic and the Constitution, without prejudice however to the Catholic religion." This formula was approved of by the Government, but only as an exposition, and it was still required to administer the oath literally as it was found expressed in the Constitution. Monsignor Boni, Pro-vicegerent, granted by letters (*in scriptis*) to the professors the permission of conforming to the orders from authority, all their efforts to satisfy the Pope being useless, and having no reason to doubt their determination to consider the oath in no other way than his Holiness himself did. Bolgeni then published his apology for the oath interpreted as the Pope desired, and the government approved his production. It is this work which Marchetti, after the departure of the French, denounced as impious and heretical.*

* Ibid. c. 2, No. 15, p. 16.

The Cardinal-Vicar Della Somaglia residing at Rome had, immediately after the Pope's dethronement, ordered by a decree obedience to the new Government, according to the precepts of the Holy Apostles.*

The Pope was still at Rome, when all the College of Cardinals proceeded to St. Peter's *in publica forma*, to sing Te Deum, by way of thanksgiving for the founding of the Republic.

Since the condemnation of the oath, the professors of the College retracted it; and Bolgeni, in particular, retracted his apology, not, says he, because they had erred, but because they had, contrary to their intention, given scandal to the people, and it therefore became necessary to correct it.†

Pius the Sixth had twice forbidden the administration of the oath imposed by the Roman Constitution: the first time in the answer which he gave a priest who consulted him; the second, in his brief of the 30th January, addressed to the Pro-vicegerent, Boni.‡

By this same brief, he condemned the professors who had sworn purely and simply, according to the text of the Constitution; their verbal re-

* Ibid. c. 9, No. 77, p. 67.

† Ibid. No. 83, p. 74.

‡ Ibid. c. 11, No. 91, p. 78.

strictions and explanations appeared to him insufficient.*

Pius the Sixth condemned the oath ordered by the Cisalpine Republic, in a letter addressed to the Cardinal Archbishop of Ferrara. This oath was more hostile to Catholicism (papal) than that of the Roman Republic.†

At the end of the pamphlet above-mentioned, is the Opinion (*Parere*) of Bolgeni upon the alienation of ecclesiastical property, and his *explanations* upon this opinion concerning the scandal to which the publication of the first pamphlet had given rise—explanations which had already been printed under the Republican *regime*, which he retracted when that *regime* ceased to exist, and to which he is desirous of adding explanatory and exculpatory notes.

His opinion was, that religion, justice, and the laws of the Church permitted the alienation of Church property, as often as the exigencies of the State required it; that such was the case under the Roman Republic; that consequently the Government might alienate, without asking any one's permission, because "the civil sovereignty and its representatives are not, and cannot be comprised under those laws (those of the Church

* Ibid. No. 101, p. 85.

† Ibid. Appendix, Art. 3. No. 208, p. 160.

which forbid alienation.) Ecclesiastical property is a temporal thing, and does not belong to the essential wants of religion.

This was the passage which most exasperated the Pope; and the theological penitentiary thought that the only means of appeasing the *restored* Prince was by an unreserved retractation. We are then justified in saying, that one of the dogmas of the Catholic faith, as understood by the Court of Rome, is, that *ecclesiastical property is part of the very essence of religion.* This leads us to conclude that Pius the Sixth, in ceding a part of the Pontifical States to the French, and Pius the Seventh, in ratifying the sale of national property in France, show themselves to be true apostates, and that Leo the Twelfth, in order to insure his salvation, should dispossess his eldest son, the King of France, of Avignon, and reclaim the *Nag*, of his vassal the King of Naples.

Bolgeni concludes his *Parere* with these words: "Citizens and foreigners may therefore, with the utmost security of conscience, purchase such ecclesiastical property as the constituted authorities of the Roman Republic may expose to sale, without having any uneasiness about the consent or opposition of the Holy See."*

* Ibid. *Parere* etc. Appendix, No. 232, p. 180.

The French took possession of Tuscany, March 25, 1799; and their entrance into Florence was announced to the Tuscans by a decree from the Grand-duke, which they considered in its true light; namely, as an order to obey these same French as long as they remained masters of Tuscany. They were dreadfully disappointed when they found themselves dragged, by the reaction of the terrorists, into loathsome dungeons; when they were threatened with exile, the galleys, and death itself, and this merely for having obeyed. They did not as yet know that when the sovereign is conscientious enough to wish to keep his promises, even to the prejudice of what he considers his interest, he is always beset by the vile creatures of tyranny, who make him break them himself, or cause them to be violated in his name.

The Grand-duke's edict was word for word as follows:

"Ferdinand the Third, by the grace of God, Prince Royal of Hungary and Bohemia, Arch-duke of Austria, Grand-duke of Tuscany, &c. &c.

"Upon the entrance of the French troops into Florence, we shall consider it as a proof of the affection and gratitude of our good subjects, if seconding our own royal intentions, they preserve a perfect quiet, respect the French troops collectively and individually, and abstain from every act

which may form a subject of complaint. This discreet conduct will acquire still more our royal regard and favour. Given May 24th, 1799.

"(Signed) FERDINAND V.

FRANCESCO SERATTI, CAIETAN RAINALDI."

But the French army was soon led to other occupations; and the capitulation of Florence gave every latitude for furthering the deeds of violence, arbitrary power, and blind zeal, which were meditated.

As soon as the Florentines were pretty certain that the Aretines were at the gates of their city, that Bologna was in the power of the Austrians, who were marching upon Tuscany, and that the few French who still remained in the capital were preparing to evacuate it the next morning,—as soon as they were certain they had nothing farther to fear, they were, it is said, seized, "on the 4th of July, by the most courageous enthusiasm." This enthusiasm, which the presence of the French had by mere force, and with difficulty, repressed, during one hundred and one lingering days,* vented itself solely upon the tree of liberty, the

* "Collezione istorica di tutti i fatti d'armi ed altri avvenimenti di guerra, che hanno avuto luogo in Italia fra le armate belligerenti, nel corrente anno 1799, dall' esplosione delle ostilità fin a tutto il dì di 23 Giuglio, Firenze, 1799." Vide p. 63.

arms of the Republic, and all the emblems of democracy, which the brave Florentines threw down and broke in pieces, in order to substitute in their stead the Madonna of Arezzo, and the double Imperial Eagle. On the 5th the French set off, "and the wicked partizans of democracy were arrested, one after the other, and put in prisons, where they still remain," says the author of the pamphlet we quote, "awaiting the inevitable punishment which hangs over their head."*

The Florence *Gazette Universelle*, which had just substituted the month of July for the Messidor—the year of our Lord 1799, for the 7th year of Liberty—the *Long live the Emperor and the Holy Virgin!* for Long live the Republic and the great Nation!—the *Most Illustrious and reverend Signor*, for *Citizen*, announced in its number for Tuesday, July 9, the approaching entrance of the advanced guard of the Aretine army, commanded *by the most illustrious Signor Captain Mari*, and which the police required should be treated with the greatest respect.

The capitulation had been signed by the more illustrious rather than enlightened Government of that period, in the following manner:

"The most wise and vigilant Florentine Senate has transmitted to the Aretines, through the

* Ibid. p. 64.

medium of Mr. Windham, the English minister, the conditions of their entrance into Florence, for the purpose of ascertaining if they were to their satisfaction."

It appears they did so, for an Aretine commissary came to examine the state of the fortresses, of their artillery and ammunition, as well as the quarters provided for the troops. On his part, he communicated to the Senators the interrogatories of the Aretines, viz. : 1. If the Senate wished that they should enter Florence. 2. If it consented to place in their hands all the fortresses of the town, its gates, arms, and ammunition. 3. If it would allow the Aretines military honours. 4. If it would find them lodgings, rations, &c. :—in short, if it would refuse them nothing they might require in future. The Senate hastened to reply. 1. That it desired their entry most anxiously. 2. That it was perfectly willing so to do. 3. Very willingly. 4. That their demands were just, &c. :—in short, that it would refuse them nothing.

The Florentines went out to meet their self-styled liberators, and harangued them in a discourse stuffed with the most fulsome adulation, in which they declared that if the French nation were composed of a greater number of individuals than the Aretine nation, in any other respect it was not to be compared to it. This obtained

the Florentines a most sentimental answer, in which they received the appellation of "the *amiable people.*"

"It was with this wonderful energy," says the work from which we have drawn this anecdote, "that the Florentines set in action the movements of their magnanimous hearts."*

This work is entitled, "Insurrezione dell' inclita e valorosa città di Arezzo, mirabilmente seguita il dì 6 Maggio, 1799, contro le forze delle armi e de' frodi dell' anarchia Francese: esposta alla gloria di Maria Santissima del Conforto, dal Canonico Gio. Battista Chrisolino de' Conti di Valdoppio, etc. e paroco della cattedrale Aretina. In città di Castello, 1799, con approbazione."—"The insurrection of the noble and courageous City of Arezzo, which miraculously took place on the 6th May, 1799, against the strength of the armies and the anarchical tricks of the French: published in honour of the most Holy Maria del Conforto, by the Canon John Baptista Chrisolino of the family of Valdoppio, and curate of the cathedral of Arezzo. In the city of Castello, 1799; with licence."

The Journal of Florence thus describes the entrance of the Aretines: "At the head of the troops was the illustrious Lorenzo Mari, Captain

* Insurrezione, etc. di Arezzo, pp. 309—312.

Commandant of the division of Valdarno, and of the Aretine advanced guard,—an officer who has much distinguished himself in this expedition. The march of the cavalry was opened by the illustrious Mr. Windham, the worthy minister of his Britannic Majesty. That excellent lady, Madame Alexander Mari, who was seen like an Amazon, on horseback, among a group of officers, is also deserving of particular mention."*

They were preceded by the colours of the Emperor and of the Grand-duke, in conjunction with those of the Virgin and St. John the Baptist; and the editor of the Gazette observes, that this army was above all praise.

Let us contrast this description with a less serious, but a truer one. It is taken from a burlesque poem, entitled, "L'Egira Toscana, o sia la Cremania. Con note. In Crema. Per Luigi Presidenti, S. del B. G."—"The Tuscan Hegira, or the Cremania. With Notes. At Crema," &c.

The poet sets out by saying, that the English Minister had prevailed on the Senate to sign the capitulation of Florence, in virtue of which the Aretines were empowered to arrest all suspected persons. He then adds, "Two days afterwards, the troops of Casentino and Valdarno, with those of Arezzo, made their entry, and took possession

* Loco cit. p. 533.

of the towns which command the Arno. They were headed by a woman and a monk.

"The reverend Father Captain was a soldier of San Francesco. He was observed to play an excellent knife and fork; for his neck was so excessively fat, that his *tout ensemble* seemed a lump of flesh.

"In spite of the rules of his order, he rode like a Saracen; he was continually addressing the people, and advanced, waving a white handkerchief. At times, he lifted up his pious voice, and cried with tears in his eyes, *Long live Maria!*

"The lady, not less bold or active, distinguished herself among the other cavaliers. She had changed her cap for a helmet, and all her motions were haughty, her countenance was martial," &c. The remainder is a pun, of which the decency and respect due to the fair sex forbids the translation.

The heroine, far less culpable, doubtless, than the grave English Minister who made her figure away with the Madonna, with monks and brigands, in what some would now call the restoration of the throne and altar, is still living, and residing at Florence, where she receives all the respect she merits, nothing but her beauty and past gallantries being now remembered. As the Aulic Council does not pique itself much upon politeness towards the

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fair sex, it is to be supposed that it is for some other reason that Madame Mari is considered worthy of being called a Baroness of the Holy Roman Empire. We could have wished to have given entire, and with all its *considerations*, the diploma which contains such precious proofs of the Imperial munificence, but notwithstanding all our endeavours we have never been able to gain a sight of it. May one not begin to perceive that there are *honours*, which are in no way honourable? that there are even some which dishonour the person, on whose face they fail to raise a blush?

The principles upon which many priests and monks prided themselves, were favourable to these murders.

The following is one of those anecdotes which is worth preserving, for the history of fanaticism; it is reported by an eye-witness.

The Dean Octavius Ricci, upon seeing the train which accompanied the remains of Pius the Sixth, on their way from France to Rome, by order of the First Consul, communicated the following reflections to the venerable Bishop of Pistoia. The letter is dated from Pontremoli, 27th February, 1802.

"The removal of the ashes of Pius the Sixth should have taken place immediately after his death; the procession would then have proceeded in the midst of those plaudits which the fanatics

of that day bestowed upon the most holy religion, which they had debased to the level of the German army. Great God! I cannot recall those times to my recollection without shuddering! times consecrated to personal vengeance, robberies, and pillage of every description. At this period, we had a Capuchin preacher, who wore upon his breast a large silver image of the Madonna of Arezzo. There were then many persons detained, some in the prisons, others in the fortress, and even in the monasteries. This impudent monk began to declaim against the Jacobins, and aroused his hearers to vengeance. Imagine how much he increased the enthusiasm of the populace, by vomiting forth his anti-evangelical rhapsody. I was anxious to retaliate upon him in a Christian-like manner. Certain letters which this monk had written to a young female, to induce her to any thing but her prayers, fell into my hands. I showed them to him, and then in his presence tore them in pieces, and threw them into the fire, saying to him: 'This is the vengeance I take of you, on condition, however, that you hasten your departure:' which immediately followed. I could relate a thousand facts of the same kind."

But the above is only an isolated fact. We have observed that the massacre of those who were called Jacobins, that is to say, of all those

who had given proofs of their intelligence and virtue, had become a matter of conscience *de (pré-cepte)* at this period, and was ordered in the name of the Prince and of God. A short analysis of the following work will put what we advance out of doubt: "Answer of an Aretine Theologian to the question proposed by a Spiritual Director; printed in Pisa by Pieraccini, 1799." The question was:—If those who denounce or arrest the *Jacobins*, transgress the divine command of forgiving offences; and if, apparently moved by a spirit of vengeance, they are wanting in charity towards their neighbours?*

The better to resolve this problem, the author establishes as a fact, that Jacobinism is not a particular offence committed against a few individuals, but rather a public crime, since "the projects of the Jacobins are principally, if not wholly conceived with the idea of destroying religion, and dethroning the civil powers legitimately established;" and that for this reason alone the said Jacobins deserve to be tried by the people according to human laws, to be condemned to death, executed, and declared infamous.†

"Princes and their magistrates," continues he, "are the *Gods* of the people, the vicars and lieutenants of the Supreme God, as we are informed

* Risposto, &c. § 1, p. 3. † Ibid. § 4, p. 6.

by the Holy Scripture, which agrees with the civil power in condemning the detractors of that power.*

"Will the cries of the Tuscan rebels, heard through all the streets of Florence, *Death to the Tyrant!* that is, (I shudder to say it,) death to Ferdinand the Third, the just, pious, and clement son of Maria Louisa, leave any doubt in the hearts of good Christians and faithful subjects, whether these rebels deserve the hatred, execration, and vengeance of the wise? In order to secure the triumph of religion, shall we become accomplices of those desperate men, who are resolved to destroy and annihilate this religion to the utmost of their power? To show our attachment to legitimate sovereignty, shall we permit those to go unpunished who have gorged themselves with our blood? What strange charity towards our neighbour is this! If we attentively consider this ill-understood charity, it will be found to be the most decisive character of Jacobinism. 'The face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth'—xxxiv. v. 16. You here see how the God of Justice regulates his judgment against public sinners; and shall we by a zeal for religion, confounding public vengeance which is enjoined us,

* Ibid. § 5, p. 7.

with private revenge which is forbidden, abandon the way of the divine judgments, and follow the paths of our human morality? This is precisely the modern philosophy; or, as I have already said, it is the true character of Jacobinism."

The author afterwards speaks of what he calls the Jacobins in the time of the Apostle St. Jude, and following the example of that apostle, he compares the modern Jacobins to the unbelieving Jews, to the rebel angels, to the inhabitants of the Pentapolis, because, says he, they have abjured revelation, and despised all legitimate power.*

He attaches himself to the same apostle, to prove that authority should be honoured; and for this purpose he makes use of a passage, taken from the apocryphal books, touching the respectful conduct observed by the Archangel Michael, in his dispute with the Devil, when the question was, who should have the body of Moses? "Michael," says he, "although *he* was also invested with a character, abstained nevertheless from abusing the Devil, (whom he calls the power of darkness,) because he was possessed of a legitimate authority."† The legitimacy of the Devil!

He afterwards relates the history of Sebua, or Sobua, Shebna, a courtier of the impious king Achas, and who became the treasurer of his suc-

* Ibid. § 8, p. 9. † Ibid. p. 10.

cessor, Ezechias, a prince of a pious and gentle disposition. "Shebna, by his pride, compromised the reputation of the new king, and God punished him in an exemplary manner." (Isa. xxii. 15.)

"If God thus treated that impious Jacobin who defamed his master, why shall we, rejecting so bright an example, show ourselves animated with a false Christian charity towards the modern Jacobins, who vilify with such impudence our Lord? Have we not all power over them, even that of extermination, since God has himself expressly commanded it?"

Here the author quotes the command which God gave the Jews, to exterminate all their vanquished enemies, without any exception, for fear they should corrupt their conquerors by the example of their wickedness: these enemies were the Hittites, the Ammonites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, &c. &c. (Deut. chap. xx. v. 17.) "Are not we precisely in the same circumstances here mentioned by the Divine Legislator? We who have witnessed the birth of Jacobinism in Tuscany, know how few were its adherents in the beginning, and to what a number they increased by the instructions of those few. It is our duty, therefore, to take a just vengeance upon this abominable race of monsters, or resolve to be rebels to the Prince and to

God; for rebellion does not alone consist in doing what is forbidden, but also in omitting what is commanded."*

The author then produces, as an example of the crime of rebellion incurred by neglect, that of Saul, whom God had commanded to make war upon the Amalekites, and to put to death all his prisoners, men, women, old men, children, babes, oxen, sheep, camels, and asses, (1 Sam. 15, v. 3, and following,) and who dared to spare the life of King Agag, and to reserve some cattle to be offered up in sacrifice. This made God repent of having made him King, although the prophet Samuel, to console him in some degree, killed and hewed in pieces King Agag *before the face of the Lord.*

The following are the horrible consequences deduced by this author from such cruelties, which are not the less execrable from being perpetrated under pretence of *divine right.*

" If in face of these divine commands and examples, it is permitted to a frail mortal to enter into a discussion as to the judgments of the Almighty, it is my opinion, that our adorable sovereign has been condemned to suffer the short, but for us too long mortification of descending from his throne, for having so unseasonably

* Ibid. § 9. pp. 11 and 12.

exercised his innate clemency, permitting such a harvest of impious Canaanites and pernicious Amalekites to grow up to maturity, in the midst of the vineyard entrusted to him.*

"Upon authority such as this, it appears incontrovertible, that the denunciation of Jacobins to the Government is an express command of God, which no one can refuse to obey without an open violation of the holy doctrines. As to arrests, these are to be considered in the same light as denunciations, inasmuch as those who arrest, lend assistance to the Government; but where the latter, by means of special persons appointed for this purpose, enforces the observance of the divine commandments, and provides for the security of society by the punishment of transgressors, these arrests made by the people become arbitrary acts, and those who execute them are rebels to the legitimate authority. This limitation, however, does not extend to the arrest of such as the Government is in search of, but cannot find.†

"If we ought to look over the faults of the Jacobins, in the hope that they will one day reform, there is then no farther necessity for criminal prosecutions; for the hope of reformation, as far as we can see, can never entirely be abandoned. Thus, in fact, by affecting a zeal for

* Ibid. § 10, pp. 12 and 13. ‡ Ibid. § 11, p. 14.

religion, we in reality tread in the paths of Jacobinism, and reject the Gospel which commands us *to tell it to the Church;* and become refractory to its Founder, who expressly enjoins us *to extirpate evil from among us,* without any regard to the hope of conversion."

The author of these infamous pages—the person who sought to disseminate these atrocious principles, was Cæsar Malanima, a Tuscan priest, who, at the time of publishing his libel, had been twenty years professor of the Oriental languages at the University of Pisa, and (we say it with regret) was so for twenty years afterwards, that is, till his death, which took place about five years since. Malamina's pamphlet was not more prosecuted by the minister than his person had been.

The Abbé Fontani, a friend of Bishop Ricci, undertook to refute him, in a small work of about one hundred pages, which he had printed after the Teologo, under the title of "Examination of the answer of an Aretine Theologian to the question of a Spiritual Director: printed at Pisa by Francesco Pieraccini, with licence."*

The worthy priest was ill calculated to publish a solid refutation of his ferocious colleague, for the

* Esame della Risposta di un Teologo Aretino alla domanda di un Direttore Spirituale. Stampata in Pisa, per Francesco Pieraccini, con approvazione.

simple reason, that he was a priest. His character made it incumbent upon him to maintain the principles of the Bible; and he had not sufficient ability to discern the difference of true scriptural doctrine from its perversions by Malamina.

The Abbé Fontani's pamphlet contains an important passage. It is as follows:

"In answer to what I have said concerning the rank of the persons who have themselves denounced and *arrested*, it might easily be opposed to me, that, among the accusers of the Jacobins, there were many ecclesiastics, and that among these not a few have availed themselves of *the secrecy of confession*; and that many more have stirred up the people to denounce and arrest, not only by their discourses, but by heading parties of the turbulent, and proceeding with arms in their hands to make domiciliary visits, and personal arrests."* It was then as in the time of Jesus, says the Abbé Fontani, when the Pharisees and priests mingled with the people, went forth to arrest him, crying aloud for his being put to death.

The following will still farther illustrate the history of this fatal period: it has been extracted from a small Italian pamphlet, attributed to the virtuous Tuscan minister, Francesco Maria Gianni.

* Ibid. p. 108.

It is entitled, " Tuscany from the 23rd of March, 1799, to the 20th of May, 1801 ; Genoa, printed by Frugoni."

The French had scarcely evacuated Tuscany after the battle of La Trebbia, when the Florentine Senate, which arrogated to itself the supreme authority, showed itself the most cruel enemy of all those who had taken any share in the French administration. In vain was pleaded the *motu proprio* of the Grand-duke Ferdinand the Third, who had imposed upon his subjects the duty of obeying the French. It was equally vain to produce proofs of having loaded the nobility and gentry with favours, and of having prevented as much as possible the evils of military occupation. Three inquisitors of the Black Chamber, an auditor of the Consultum, and a faithless secretary, summoned to their assistance the most infamous of satellites, to be the instruments of their criminal intentions.* The rapacity, fanaticism, cruelty,

* For the information of such of our readers as are not Tuscans, we will add the names of the persons who are only hinted at by Senator Gianni. The three inquisitors were Amerie Antinori, Roland del Benino, and Marc Covoni. The auditor of the Consultum, was Pierallani; and the secretary, Giunti. The infamy of Giunti, who is now banished from Florence for forgery, (as Cremani is for a fraudulent bankruptcy,) is preserved in a public document, by means of which he proved to the noble Senate of his country, that he was

poisonings, and infamous proscriptions which then took place, are, unfortunately for the honour of the Tuscan name, but too well known, and will be for ever preserved in history for a warning to posterity. One thing might be doubted, viz. whether these atrocities were the effect of wickedness, or ignorance; but the impartial historian is compelled to allow, that both had an equal influence upon the events, during the whole time that these shameful proceedings lasted.

"Party fury was at such a height, that the wisest ministers, the moderate disciples of the immortal Leopold, were brought to trial, and deprived of the employments they filled; and justice was outraged in her very sanctuary, by a declaration importing that all those who followed the infamous standards of a nation, the exterminator of all virtue, (meaning the French nation,) should not in future be received as witnesses in any cause. Neither prince nor people had ever been so deceived, at any period, as they were then."

worthy of serving it, since, being intimately connected with the majority of the French authorities during the occupation, he had only flattered them for the purpose of betraying them the more effectually. Spy, traitor, and exciting agent, Giunti deserved to be appointed the accuser, executioner, and secretary of the terrorist committee, instituted by the anti-revolutionary Government; and he was so. Note of the Author of Ricci's Life.

"The object we have proposed to ourselves, does not require us to show that these ministers (the senators) equally betrayed their sovereign, their country, and their fellow-citizens; that they did not even suspect the uncertainty of future events; that their hatred and their ambition had dragged them into an abyss whence they would never have arisen, had not French generosity exceeded even their crimes. But it may be very important to reflect, that neither the duty which unites them to the Prince, to Tuscany, and to their fellow-countrymen, nor the experience of their past faults, nor the magnanimity of their adversaries, have been able to make them, as yet, more humane or more just; and that they are perhaps at this moment, ready to avail themselves of the first favourable occasion, to immolate to their implacable vengeance, both their ancient victims and their new ones also."

When the republican phalanxes, become masters of all Italy by the victory of Marengo (to which a parallel cannot be produced in the annals of the world), approached Florence for the second time, the herd of Germans, and the seducers of the people, hastened to take flight with the utmost expedition;* the mysterious veil was torn aside,

* The seducers of the people were at that time the members of the regency, composed of General Sommariva, and the

and the deceitful charm which had so long fascinated every mind, was at length dissipated, and entirely destroyed under the walls of Arezzo.* The real criminals left at the mercy of the conquerors the victims whom they had seduced; and convinced that their crimes were undeserving of pardon, cowardly abandoned their posts, proving by this simple fact, that they had betrayed their Sovereign and the State. When they fled, they confided the reins of government to their emissaries,† who, on account of the insignificance of the situations they had filled previously to this period, had not been prominent enough to deserve the hatred of the chiefs of any party. They, however, placed at their head the instigator of all the preceding persecutions, the friend of Cremani,—‡ the most determined enemy of every moderate

Senators Antinori, Coboni, and Bartolini, lately arrived from Vienna. It would be wrong, however, to confound the latter with the rest. The Senator Gianni himself makes him an honourable exception, as will be seen farther on.—Note by the same.

* This town was taken, pillaged, and sacked by the French, who had entered Tuscany as conquerors, and who burned with the desire of avenging the cowardly assassinations of their companions in arms.—Note by the same.

† Pierallini, Cercignani, Lessi, and Piombanti.—Note by the same.

‡ Pierallini.—Note by the same.

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system, of all that was French, or that had the remotest similitude to French; and they provided him with an *avocat*,* who had at the time some reputation, but who entirely lost it by his artificial and deceitful character, by the necessity he soon found himself under of implicitly obeying his colleague, and by his complete ignorance of the affairs of government.

Things were in this situation, when General Dupont, by an act of justice, ordered the sequestration of the property of absentees to be taken off, and the release of those detained for their opinions. Cremani's friend, (Pierallini) long initiated into all the chicanery of the inferior courts, thought, by means of subterfuges, to be able to elude, at least in part, the General's regulations. But at length, the latter, wearied out with his obstinacy, finally dismissed him from the management of affairs.

"General Miollis succeeded Dupont in the chief

* Lessi. N. B. In the copy we have consulted is a manuscript marginal note.—"The advocate, Bernard Lessi, a man with a smile of complacency always upon his lips. He is so supple, and knows so well how to bend to circumstances, that in May 1799, he proposed to the municipality of Florence to burn the *libro d'oro* (the golden book), the palladium of the nobility of that city, and the maddest monument of human pride."—Note by the same.

command. He continually insisted upon the decrees of his predecessor being executed; but he could never accomplish the noble object he had proposed to himself,—that of re-organizing the university, and much less that of restoring their employments to those who had been deprived of them on account of liberal opinions. Things came to such a point, that they could no longer dispense with nominating three individuals of the French party* to be incorporated with those who had been nominated and appointed by the Austrian Regency and General Sommariva." It was in fact ridiculous to see, how Tuscany, entirely occupied by the French troops, was governed by those who had been chosen for that purpose by the enemy's General, a fugitive.†

Another pamphlet is entitled, "The Defence of Antonio Landi, Vincenzo Fioravanti, Antonio Berti, and Joseph Moroni, accused of highway robbery and murder, read by Doctor

* Messieurs Chiarenti, Pontelli, and Deghores. They soon remained by themselves, in consequence of the dismission of their three colleagues.

These gentlemen have published an account of their administration, very interesting for the history of that period, under the title of "Aperçu des Principales Opérations du Gouvernement Provisoire Toscan."

† La Toscana, 25 Marzo, 1799, &c. pp. 6, 10; Milan, Aug.—Note by the same.

Joseph Giusti, before the Military Commission of Florence, (instituted by a decree of the General-in-chief Murat, on the 2nd Pluviose, Year 9 of the Republic,) in the Sitting of the 27th July, 1801," (8th Thermidor, Year 9th). In it we find the following picture of the situation of Tuscany after the battle of Trebbia by the French:—

"It was then that the irruption of the barbarians brought along with it the triumph of ignorance, superstition, anarchy, and crime: it was then that the priests taught to cover every crime with the veil of religion, that the vilest wretches planned the fatal plot, the object of which was the annihilation of religion and virtue: it was then that an usurping Senate brought back into our country the dreadful times of Tiberius—nothing was witnessed but scenes of horror.

"The most irreproachable men of all classes and conditions, honourable and peaceable citizens, virtuous patricians, upright magistrates, brave soldiers, respectable ecclesiastics, all men of a superior talent, the glory of their country, and who in numberless instances had merited well of their country, perished wretchedly either by the blow of the assassin, or at the stake planted by fanaticism.* Others were arbitrarily arrested and

* "Allusion to the atrocities committed at Siena, at the time of the entry of the Aretines."—Note of M. Giusti.

dragged before a tribunal of cannibals :* there, without the least shadow of justice, without proofs against them, without the means of defence, they were subjected to the most infamous penalties, to the gallies, to imprisonment in fortresses, and to banishment. Others, finally, who had with the utmost difficulty and danger escaped from their ferocious persecutors, took refuge in foreign countries, there to lead a wandering and wretched life, carrying with them the cruel recollection of the tyranny of an iniquitous government, and of the ingratitude of their fellow citizens. Above thirty-thousand families were victims of these proscriptions; and Ferdinand,† the father of his people, saw with

* The judicial Commission of Police, directed by the Assessor Cremani, who was afterwards Minister of police, (presidente del buon governo.")—Note by the same.

† " It is satisfactory to be enabled to assert, that the conduct of the late Grand-duke of Tuscany, since the last restoration, authorizes us to suppose that he was misled at this period by perfidious counsellors, whose infernal instigations stifled for a moment his natural justice and goodness. Ferdinand's death caused *many sincere* tears to flow in Tuscany—tears which have only since been dried up by the certainty of seeing this Prince resuscitated in his son Leopold the Second. Why cannot the same be observed of all the other sovereigns whom Napoleon's errors have restored to their people, that was said with so much justice of Ferdinand the Second? viz. " That having been unfortunate, he had corrected his errors for the benefit of his fellow-men, over whom fate was once more to place him !"—Note of the Author of the Life of Ricci.

complacency, from the centre of Germany, the ruin, despair, and extermination of the best of his subjects.*

"All idea of morality was overturned; the public instruction was poisoned at its fountain-head, and every idea of humanity and justice was annihilated. The execration of the French name was made the order of the day; insurrection, anarchy, and the massacre of the French and their partizans, were openly preached by the ministers of the sanctuary, were represented as conscientious duties by a thousand inflammatory writers, and were authorized and encouraged by the Government itself.†

* See the edict published by the Senate, by order of the Sovereign himself, on the 10th of December, 1799.—"His Royal Highness has been much pleased to learn, that his good people generally testify the most decided hatred against all those who have been the adherents and favourers of the enemy and his system, as well as the maxims disseminated by them, maxims destructive of all religious, moral, and political order. Therefore he has determined, in his paternal clemency, the principal bases upon which shall be established the punishments applicable to a series of crimes not provided for by the law, and which some have committed as seducers, and others as seduced: he promises his special protection to all those who have remained stedfast in love and fidelity to his royal person, &c."—Note of M. Giusti.

† "These facts are notorious, and need no justification. Consult all the public papers, gazettes, &c., published with the approbation of Government: the most dreadful insults are

"Such was the state of Tuscany, on the 14th October, 1800, on which day the approach of the Republicans forced the most notorious authors of these excesses, cowardly to take to flight, leaving Tuscany to be governed by their own sub-delegates, the only instructions given to them being, to endeavour as much as possible to keep up the system which they had themselves established.

"In fact, these creatures of a fugitive General and Regency—creatures, whose authority was contrary to all the rules of policy respected by the conqueror after the occupation of Tuscany, continued to foment the popular fanaticism, and to prepare

every where poured forth against the French nation. The excesses of fanaticism, the atrocities of the Aretines, who, upon the retreat of the French, hunted them like wild beasts, were cried up as the most heroic actions. See the preambles of all the edicts of the Senate, &c. &c."—Note by the same.

He quotes the edict of the 12th September, 1799, in which the excesses of the Aretines are qualified with the term of *generous transport;* the decree of the Regency of the 11th of June, 1800, which orders the people to be excited to take up arms against the French, by sounding the alarm-bell on their approach, and repeating the signals agreed upon, &c.; the prohibition under pain of death, of Cremani, the Minister of Police, (14th June) to spread news favourable to the French; in short the mandates and pastoral instructions of several Bishops, tending to kindle the flames of war in the name of God and religion.—Ibid. Annotazioni in fine, pp. 31—34.

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the country for a general rising. But French generosity was at length exhausted, and it was resolved, if necessary, to join to the old governors three persons more worthy of confidence." *

After having seen the crimes of the *insurgents of faith and legitimacy*, it will be well to observe the solicitude of the Government to reward their horrible services.

"Circular Instruction to all the Commissioners created by the Decree (*Motu proprio*) of the 10th February, 1800," &c.—The respected decree of the 10th of last February declares, that his Royal Highness has established a commission, charged with examining the merit of the individuals who have, even during the insurrection of the Aretines, or after they had exhibited this great example, given proofs either of military valour or of political prudence, by giving birth to, fomenting and exciting the rising against the enemy in any of the provinces of the Grand-duchy. The said commission will draw up an account of the deeds which have rendered illustrious, during this period, not only the town of Arezzo, but also all the other towns, boroughs, and villages of Tuscany, pointing out the names of persons the most deserving of reward, as well as those who have lost their lives during that interval.

* Difesa di Antoni Landi, &c. pp. 17—21.

Then follow the particular provisions, and the nomination of commissioners specially appointed to carry them into execution. This instruction is dated the 24th March, 1800, and signed by Leonard Frullani and several other hands.

We venture to produce, at the end of these notices, an authentic act which proves the infamy of several vile *Absolutionists* of this critical period, and especially of the traitor Giunti, secretary of the Black Chamber, who, by the important intelligence which his active *espionage* enabled him to give to the generals of the Austro-Russian army of Upper Italy, contributed not a little to the loss of the battle of Trebbia by the French, and to the dreadful re-action which spread desolation and death through the whole of Italy. This singular document is as follows: We have been favoured with it by a friend of good order, whom we beg to accept our sincere thanks.

"No. 15.

"The 26th of November, 1799. At Pistoia.

"I the undersigned declare as the pure and simple truth, and engage, if required, to confirm my declaration by oath, that, at the time of the occupation of Tuscany by the French, and especially on the night of the 2nd of May, 1799, Ascension-day, I signed, with the knowledge and by order of M. Horace Morelli, Standard-bearer of the commune of Florence, in concert with the

Advocate Joseph Giunti, a plan for the defence and maintenance of public tranquillity upon the expected departure of the French; and that the said project, with the minutes of a decree to be printed, written with my own hand, which will probably be still found at M. Giunti's, was carried by us as agreed upon, at seven o'clock, on the 3rd of May, to M. Morelli, at his house, and he himself added all that he judged necessary to insure the success of our enterprise, which was only undertaken by persons of tried integrity.

"I also declare, and will attest on my conscience, that as often as M. Morelli received by his emissaries news relative to the armies, and the military and political proceedings of the French, it was immediately forwarded to me, in order to be communicated to M. Giunti. The latter, in order to obtain a knowledge of all that was taking place, lent pecuniary assistance to the Marquis Bianchi d'Adda, aid-de-camp of General Gaultier, to the servants of the family Ricciardi, and to a servant of the Commissioner Reinhard; he also procured the most important intelligence by means of a trusty person. Being very anxious for the speedy evacuation of Tuscany, he (Morelli) obtained through me, and communicated to the aforesaid Advocate Giunti, the plan of the operations and movements of Macdonald's army. Be-

sides, on the 21st and 22nd of June, he conceived the design of raising a corps of city militia, to oppose the violence of the French, and of dividing it into twelve companies, at the head of which he placed men attached to the Prince and the country, amongst others the Marquis Antonio Corsi, the Prior Ricasoli, Captain Cellesi, Guerrazzi, Marquis Ricciardi, &c. in order that they might take upon themselves the internal defence of the city. He solicited so earnestly, that, on the night of the 23rd June, he had obtained from the French commandant the necessary arms, although they had all been concealed for a long time, as well as the ammunition, powder, ball, and cannon, by a special order given to M. Quinquernel, Commissary of the Stores. Finally, almost every day, in the company of M. Giunti, and of Sigg. Lorenzo Bartolommei, Angiolo Mezzeri, Silvestro Aldrovandini, and many other persons well known for their attachment to good principles, he (Morelli) spoke of his wretched situation, and of the so much desired restoration of the happy government of his Royal Highness Ferdinand the Third.

"Francis Paur d'Antierfeld, as assistant of the commune of Florence, by order of his Royal Highness, since the 24th of March to the 16th of September, 1799, attests the above, with his own hand.

"The attester, M. Francis Paur, has ratified, in all its parts, the contents of the present testimony by an oath, which I, the undersigned notary, have tendered him, and which he has taken according to due form, &c.; and he has signed it with his hand and cypher, this day, the 26th of November, 1799, at Pistoia.

"(Signed) Joseph Seravelli,
Not. pub. Flor. man. prop.
In the name of God, Amen.

"The present copy has been extracted from its original, which is upon stamp-paper, and is in the possession of the illustrious M. Horace Morelli; it is exactly conformable to it, saving errors, &c. this day, 6th Dec. 1799.

"At Florence. In faith of which, &c.

(Signed) Laurent Fabbrucci, Doctor, and
Notary public, at Florence."

M. Giunti was afterwards, when Tuscany was re-united to the French empire, named Counsellor of state to the Emperor Napoleon. The person who possesses the original of the document we have just submitted to the reader, immediately communicated it to General Radet, then at Florence. The French General had an authentic copy taken of it, which he forwarded to Fouché, Minister of Police. But this person did not think that the past conduct of a spy and of a traitor

was incompatible with his promotion to be the servant of an absolute monarch. Giunti remained Counsellor of state.

Ricci happened to be at Florence at the time of the entrance of the French troops, and therefore could not (as he would have wished) retire to his villa, as the new Government had directed that no one should be allowed to leave the city, in order to prevent emigration. This compelled him to be a witness of the fanaticism of the enemies of the French, and of Leopold's Government. The insurrection of Arezzo was a grand event for this party. Religious enthusiasm made the rebels elect the pretended miraculous *Madonna* their generalissimo; and under her standard, they followed the Republican stragglers, whom these wandering hordes massacred without mercy, and plundered with safe consciences. The image of the Virgin was, in fact, the standard of rebellion, assassination, and robbery.

This band directed its steps towards Florence, where Ricci's name was already at the head of a list of victims to the monks, the priests, and the grandees, formed before the arrival of the hordes of Arezzo. The *Leopoldists* were especially in danger; and the insurgents came twice to the villa of the prelate, where they hoped to find him. They failed, however, in their search at that place; but

the unfortunate Bishop was arrested at his house in Florence, on the 11th of July, 1799, and next day transferred to the prison da Basso, where the French prisoners were confined, and where they were treated by the Aretines with so much inhumanity, that the prelate, in their mutinies, often ran the risk of being massacred.

The Aretines had, of course, no sentiments of hatred towards Ricci, of whom they had perhaps never heard; and he thought he might probably obtain his release by writing to the Archbishop of Florence and the Bishop of Fiesole, to explain his situation, appealing to them as one of their brethren. The dark counsellors of Martini (as Ricci styles them) advised the Archbishop to pay a visit to Ricci, and to try by threats, promises, or reproaches, to engage him to a recantation of his opinions, and thus to remove from him all that was left him—his honour.

Martini followed this advice; and after describing to Ricci the dangerous feeling in the public mind, he recommended him to accept the Bull *Auctorem Fidei*; and concluded by reproaching him with the sanction he had given to the civil constitution of the French clergy, &c.

Ricci began to be intimidated, and asked counsel of Martini himself, who, seeing what might be made of the prisoner, paid him a second visit, in

which with extreme mildness he urged the same arguments, which gained over the unfortunate prelate, so far as to lead him to consent to write a letter declaratory of his coincidence with Martini's opinions.

This document, however important to the defenders of the old abuses, was not regarded as strong enough. Martini took it upon him to say to Ricci in what it was deficient: and the Bishop had the weakness not only to yield, but to request that Martini would correct the letter in his own way. After this was obtained, Martini refused to take any concern in Ricci's affairs: he even refused to send Ricci's letter to the Pope, and altogether ceased his visits to him. The ex-Bishop was detained nearly a month at the fortress da Basso, and was even refused the consolations of religion.

The excesses committed by the Aretines had roused even the indignation of the Germans, for whose advantage they committed them. General Klenau ordered them to quit Florence, under the pretence that they were required to raise the siege of Perugia which was still in the power of the French. But they liked better to pillage the Jews, and to remain in excellent garrisons; accordingly they said openly, that as they had fulfilled what they styled their glorious mission, they had no reason to march

farther. They soon however dissolved, as it was likely, from their want of discipline, they would.

The commandant of the fort where Ricci was confined, finding no charge against him, ordered his liberation; but the Senate of Tuscany seemed to have aroused all the fury of the brigands of Arezzo; for when Ricci, after recovering from his prison malady, went to visit the Archbishop of Florence, the latter (after cruelly boasting of the absolute authority which had been granted him over the arrested ecclesiastics) told him that the people were not well pleased to see him at liberty, and recommended him to retire to any convent of the capital which he might choose. Ricci proposed to go to the Fathers of the Mission; but they were cowardly enough to refuse him. He next chose the Convent of the Dominicans, at St. Mark.

Here Ricci was treated exactly like a prisoner of the Holy Office. He had only a miserable cell allowed him; all the comforts of life were refused him; the monks fled from his presence, and he could scarcely obtain the privilege of saying mass even in one of their private oratories. This was an inner chapel, which the Dominicans of St. Mark had caused to be magnificently constructed and embellished, in honour of Savonarola, close to the little rooms which had formerly been his cells. Over the entrance-door is still to be

read this Latin inscription: "Has cellulas Ven. P. F. Hieronymus Savonarola, vir apostolicus, inhabitavit."—"These cells were inhabited by the apostolic Hieronymus Savonarola."

During his stay at the Convent of St. Mark, the venerable Bishop of Pistoia made some extracts from the manuscripts which he found in the library, relative to the *heretic saint*.

Amongst others, we have observed a letter written on the 9th March, 1495, by the magistrates of the Republic of Florence, to M. Richard Becchi, its ambassador at the Court of Pope Alexander the Sixth, to thank him for the pains he had taken to procure permission that Savonarola might continue to preach in their capital. Mention is therein made of "falsities and calumnies which envious and wicked men are continually inventing and disseminating abroad, respecting Brother Jerome (Savonarola). Not only, add the magistrates, has this holy brother been attacked, but we ourselves have been strongly suspected, as you write us, of suffering Brother Jerome, in his sermons, to speak to us in no very honourable terms, and without any respect in public, of the Holy Church, and of our Lord (the Pope.) Wherefore it appears to us as just as it is necessary to let you clearly understand, that Brother Savonarola, in his sermons, has never to this day overstepped the limits

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traced by propriety, and which a kind of tacit convention generally opposes to the boldness of preachers. This, however, does not prevent these orators from condemning vices in general, pointing out the errors of the great, and making sinners tremble, by a lively and seasonable description of the Divine punishments which threaten them. If Brother Jerome had in the least degree exceeded the limits of which we have just spoken, in all which concerns the sanctity of our Lord, whose very faithful and dutiful children we have ever been and still are, we would not have permitted him on any account to have preached in future."

On the 8th of April of the same year, the magistrates wrote to the Neapolitan Cardinal, the patron of the order of St. Dominic, that they had so great a veneration for the Prior of St. Mark, Brother Savonarola, that they thought they could do no good thing, unless exhorted to it by that monk. "For the piety of this man is admirable, his life is spotless, his doctrine excellent. But what is above all that can be said, a still rarer merit, and one which we equally acknowledge in him, is, that he is inspired by a Divine spirit. He has not only predicted the common and ordinary things which have hitherto happened to us, but has forewarned us, in his sermons, of the most extraordinary events, such as we could have least expected, long before

they took place. It is impossible to express how useful his sermons are to us, as much for the salvation of our souls, as for the tranquillity of our Republic."

A third letter from the Florentine magistrates is addressed to Pope Alexander the Sixth himself, entreating him to allow Savonarola to reside among them. It is the most honourable testimony of the piety, learning, purity of morals, and holiness of life of Brother Jerome, and a refutation of the calumnies invented for his destruction. This letter is dated the 17th Sept. 1495.

Then follow the fragments of some letters from the learned Anthony Magliabechi to Theophilus Spizelius, a Protestant priest of the Church of St. James of Augsbourg. In the one marked No. 8, and dated 1679, we read,

"With respect to the accusations against Savonarola, they are futile, and without the least foundation.

"As a man, as a Christian, as a monk, as a preacher, he was compelled to take part in public affairs; for all was hastening on to ruin; and not only were the morals much relaxed, but even atheism triumphed so audaciously, that many writings, whose sole object was to turn the Holy Scriptures into ridicule, were printed over and over again, such as the Sonnets of the Canon

Pulci and others. Thousands of holy men have done the same thing, in times much less demanding their interference than those in which Savonarola lived.

"To say that he was desirous of courting interest and favour, is one of the greatest falsehoods ever heard *post homines natos*. Had he desired honours, he would have flattered the House of Medicis, and the Sovereign Pontiff Alexander the Sixth, who had promised him, if he retracted, a cardinal's hat.

In letter No. 9, we find:

"The trial (of Savonarola) now in circulation, is, without the least doubt, falsified and garbled. This was the reason why it was not read in Savonarola's presence—a circumstance which scandalized the people much, but in which his judges took not the least concern. I have made every possible effort to get a sight of the genuine trial, but always in vain. Patriarca, who was employed in the fiscal chamber, and who had all these documents in his trust, told me he had seen in some old memoirs, that this trial had been immediately taken away, and that the enemies of the monk had either torn it in pieces, or burnt it. They then published an interpolated and altered trial; and in order to prevent their fraud from being discovered, they destroyed the real one, in

order to remove every possibility of comparing the two trials, and discovering their iniquity."

In the midst of the Bishop's sufferings Pius the Sixth died. Martini advised Ricci to write to his successor; and one of the Dominicans engaged the Nuncio to visit him, in order to procure a dishonourable recantation of all his opinions. Ricci refused the Nuncio's interference: the latter withdrew in anger. Martini was jealous of the Nuncio, and refused any longer to interest himself in the fate of his colleague.

The health of Ricci was now visibly injured, owing to the suspense in which he was held, and the perfidy of his pretended friends. He also heard, that it was at the Archbishop's instigation that the Dominicans refused to allow him to officiate in their Church, thus authorizing the Florentines to regard him as a dangerous heretic, a person to be shunned. However, he bore all patiently, and passed the greater part of his time in the library of his cloister, in perusing the works of those fathers who most coincided in his opinions.

Under these circumstances, instead of receiving any assistance or consolation from his family, he was persecuted even by his own brother, the Senator Ricci, who finally succeeded in suspending the payment of the pension assigned to him by

the Grand-ducal Government till after the decision of his trial. All these vexations had such an effect on the spirits of Ricci, that his physicians, dreading a long and dangerous malady, applied to the Senate for permission to have Ricci transported to his country-house, as good air and quiet were the only remedies for his disorder.

The Senate declared that they had never given any orders for the arrest of Ricci. The physicians then addressed themselves to the Archbishop, who had always pleaded orders from Government to that effect; but he referred them again to the Senate, as Ricci's affair regarded a prisoner accused of revolutionary opinions. This was the first time such an accusation had been made; for Martini had assured the Bishop, when detained at Basso, that he was only suspected of erroneous opinions on religion.

But the difficulties made by Martini to Ricci's enlargement, were not the only ones he had to encounter; for his brother required, that, before allowing him to quit St. Mark's, all the examinations should be gone through of all the persons suspected (about 32,000), in order to be sure that the Bishop was not implicated with some of them. This delay must have occasioned the death of Ricci, had not some senators, less cruel, taken ad-

vantage of the temporary absence of Martini, to set the Bishop at liberty on the following conditions, and allow him to retire to his villa :-

1. That he should leave the convent in the night.—2. That he should only stay a few hours at his house at Florence.—3. That he should give his word of honour not to keep up any correspondence whatever.—4. That he should promise to yield himself prisoner at St. Mark's, whenever he should be required by the Senate.

The extensive correspondence of Ricci must naturally alarm the tyrants who could only work in that darkness to which they are indebted for their existence. In fact, the reputation of the Bishop of Pistoia was universal.

The following are two singular letters, which, independent of their intrinsic interest, will bear testimony to the truth of what we advance.

The first is written by Isacarus, a Bethlemite, to Bishop Ricci; from Rome, the 25th March, 1797, (perhaps 1798.)

He requests Ricci's answers to Marchetti's *Annotations Pacifiques*. He then complains of the persecutions to which he is himself exposed at Rome, from priests who were there called *good Christians*, but who were in reality only Free-thinkers, *(esprits forts)*. Lastly, he begs him

to excuse him if he has written* to him in the *Apostolic manner;* and signs himself, the most humble, most devoted, the most obliged, and most affectionate servant of your beatitude; the true and intimate friend, Isacarus, the Bethlemite of Jerusalem, the minister of God, of the sacred, primitive, Apostolic, Oriental Christian rite, well known in every country, who lives, writes, and speaks according to the true Apostolic custom. . . . . Enough.

The second letter to the same, is without date, but is found among the letters of the year 1798. It is from one Caïetan Victorin de Faria, a Paulist monk, at Lisbon.*

"The regular clergy in India," say he, "have become (towards the end of the 18th century) what the bonzes were at Japan: the nuns were the disciples of Diana, and their nunneries seraglios for the monks, as I have proved it to be the case in this Court (of Lisbon), by facts which I have produced respecting those nuns, who were more often in the family-way than the common women."

* This Faria was a Brahmin, and was converted to Catholicism. His wife being dead, he and his two sons entered into the priesthood at Genoa; his third son was made Deacon. All four came over to Lisbon, where they lived in the convent of the Paulists. The Deacon Faria was there consecrated a priest. One of the three sons of Caietan-Victorin

He adds, " that the Jesuits had made themselves Brachmans in the Indies, in order to enjoy the privileges of that caste, whose idolatrous rites and superstitious practices they had also adopted." He then explains in what consisted the principal privileges which the *religious members* of that society had acquired by this means; namely, " of having free ingress to all the Indian Courts; of being never put to death for any crime whatever; and of enjoying the favours of every woman who pleased them, it being commonly received, that a Brachman priest sanctifies the woman whom he honours with his attentions." The Paulist monk speaks from experience, for he informs us that he had himself been a Brachman before embracing the Christian religion.

Ricci had scarcely arrived in the country when he recovered his health. He wrote to Martini, who replied only by a few lines, requiring a recantation. Ricci replied, that he was still of the same opinion he had expressed to him and in the letter he had written to the Pope; he signified his attachment to the Pope, and his respect for his

de Faria (Dominic de Faria) is he who, under the name of the Abbé Faria, made himself famous at Paris as the partizan and ardent promoter of all the extravagances of Somnambulism. He was publicly ridiculed at the theatres of the Boulevards.

Bulls, particularly the *Auctorem Fidei* ; and concluded by professing the purity of his intention in all his reforms, and expressing his regret if they should have been premature or the cause of scandal.

Martini replied, that he had not had time to read the long letter of Ricci, but urged him to write to the new Pope. Ricci was grieved at the way in which he was treated by his former colleague, but promised to follow his advice as soon as the new Pontiff should be elected.

After this, for several months he continued as it were an isolated being, shunned by every one, and persecuted by his enemies, who wished to deny him even the consolation of performing his devotions in church. This tyranny lasted a year; and then they began to prepare false documents, and bribe false witnesses, to support their accusations and justify their ill-treatment of Ricci, on his approaching trial at Florence. The Archbishop wished to have Ricci condemned as a person guilty of holding antimonarchical opinions; but if this should fail, (as was likely,) he reserved to himself the right of sending him to Rome to be punished by his natural enemies. On his trial impunity was promised to the guilty of all descriptions who should make any accusation against Ricci. He was to be found guilty, in some way or other, of having loved the French. But, in

spite of these infamous and illegal proceedings, the Chancellor was obliged to acknowledge that there was no crime proved against Ricci. His persecutors were not yet satisfied: he was not yet set at liberty; for they adjourned the trial in order that their victim might not escape them; and this proof of their malignity gave a shock both to the health and mind of Ricci, which he did not recover for the remaining ten years of his life.

There is an interesting letter remaining, written by Ricci to the Abbé Mengoni, in which he manifests his opposition to the principles promoted by the *Moniteur* of the Florentine Republic. It bears date 17th May, 1799. The Abbé Mengoni, formerly Secretary to the Bishop Ricci, died on the 12th of November, 1815, after a long and painful illness, "carrying with him the glory of having resisted the most pressing temptations in order to obtain from him a humiliating retractation." Such are the words of a Florentine, in communicating to us, with the greatest kindness, all the documents relative to the last persecution which the priests inflicted upon the ex-editor of the Republican Moniteur at Florence.

The wretched intrigues employed to disturb the last moments of an ecclesiastic who sponta-

neously and publicly declared his orthodoxy and unalterable attachment to the unity of the Church, proves to demonstration that the spirit of the Court of Rome and its agents, is the same in all times and in all places, and that it avails itself of the most trifling circumstances, as well as of the most important events, to extend the fatal influence of that ignorance and fanaticism, upon which is founded the Papal power.

The Canon Joseph Mancini, now Bishop of Massa, and at that time Vicar-general of the Archbishop of Florence, commissioned a priest named Mirri, a speculating theologian, (*theologien speculateur,*) as he is called in the letter of one of the Abbé Mengoni's friends, to avail himself of the weakness of the sick man, in order to obtain a recantation.

The formula he was required to sign, contained the acceptation of all that had been determined upon at the Council of Trent; of all that the Church had decided upon respecting grace and free will; the Bulls of St. Pius the Fifth, Gregory the Thirteenth, Urban the Eighth, Alexander the Seventh, &c. and especially those known by the names of *Unigenitus super Soliditate* and *Auctorem Fidei;* the confession of the belief that the Pope has the precedency in honour and jurisdiction over all the Church, and that the Roman Church is

the mother and mistress of all the others; finally, the condemnation of the errors of the incredulous and licentious in matters of religion, in the same manner as they are condemned by the Church, as well as that of the propositions anathematized by the said Bulls, in the same plain and natural sense as has hitherto dictated the anathemas of the Sovereign Pontiffs.

The Abbé Mengoni resisted; and having learnt, by the reports spread among the people at the instigation of his vindictive colleague, that he was made to pass for an excommunicated person, to whom the Archbishop even intended to deny the administration of the *viaticum*, he wrote to this same Archbishop, on the 31st October, 1815, and said, that he not only had always been, and still was a good Catholic, but that his most earnest wish was to die in the communion of the faithful, in which he had always lived.

He wrote the same day to the Vicar Mancini, and asked him "if he required him to disgrace himself by a falsehood, by confessing himself guilty of a crime, of which indeed he was accused, but which he was convinced he had not committed: a circumstance which no one could know better than himself."

Morali (the name of the present Archbishop) insisted upon obtaining the required retrac-

tation, *which it was hoped might be coupled with that of Bishop Ricci*, in order to complete the victory gained by the Court of Rome. Seeing, at length, that all his efforts were useless, he dared not take farther advantage of the restoration of legitimacy in his country, and he permitted the spiritual succour to be administered to the sick man. The Abbé Mengoni received the *viaticum* on the 10th of November, from the hands of his confessor, the Curate of St. Gervais. The Prior of St. Marco Vecchio had alleged many frivolous excuses to avoid performing this office, and had requested the curate to be his substitute on the occasion.

Another retractation took place within five years. This was that of an Abbé Panieri, a canon of the cathedral of Pistoia, who condemned and reproved the doctrine which he had taught under the Bishop Ricci, concerning the sacrament of marriage and the dispensations from ecclesiastical hindrances.

This retractation, written by the canon's own hand, on the 17th of March, 1820, was addressed by him with a letter to Signor Marchetti d'Empoli, (the apologist for the miracles at the close of the last century,) which were both immediately printed at Rome, by De Romanis, *with permission of the higher powers;* and several

hundred copies were sent to Florence. It did not, however, succeed in stirring up ancient feuds for a long time forgotten. The Government, aware of its turbulent intentions, ordered the packet to be seized on the frontiers, and committed to the flames.

As soon as he heard of the election of Pius the Seventh as Pope, Ricci, who knew the moderation of his disposition as Cardinal, conceived some hope of a termination to his sufferings. He wrote a letter to the Pontiff, in which he expressed his entire submission to the Apostolic Chair, and the Pope occupying it, and justified his opinions as orthodox. His letter was dated 29th of March, 1800.

Gonsalvi the Pro-secretary of State, acknowledged the receipt of this letter, but made no reply to its contents. The answer was deferred for ten whole months,—an interval which was not unemployed by the enemies of the Tuscan prelate, who did every thing in their power to render Ricci odious to the new Pope. The Florentine Senate was equally active in preparing contradictory evidence of all kinds against Ricci ; and the Nuncio, thinking the opportunity favourable, insisted that the Government should send him to Rome. It was precisely at this time, that the "menacing letter" (as Ricci styles it) of Gonsalvi

arrived. It required of Ricci a recantation of his errors, and those of his Synod—his acknowledgement of the Bull *Auctorem Fidei*—of profound submission to the Pope, and a confession of his repentance. The Nuncio's secretary, who delivered the letter, was to add to it *verbally*, that the contents were known to the Tuscan Regency, who urged the ex-Bishop to comply with its demands, under pain of being given up to the Nuncio, and shut up for life in the Castle of St. Angelo.

Ricci was unwilling to declare all the acts of his episcopacy improper, seeing that they had all been sanctioned by the Grand-duke. He communicated his scruples to the Government, but no answer was ever given; so that he must have been betrayed into the snare laid for him, had not the victorious French re-entered Italy, and saved him from the danger. This was the more imminent, as Ricci was now rather disposed to diminish the concessions he had made, than to make others.

Eleven days before the French entered Florence, he received a copy of the political accusations made against him: to which he replied immediately by a letter, in which he protested his attachment to his Prince, and complained of the sufferings he had endured so long. The accusations against him were reduced to four heads.

1. He is charged with having waved a white handkerchief from a window, while the Tree of Liberty was planting. This the Bishop denies; and says, that his losses by the invasion were so great, that to have testified signs of joy on the occasion, would have been a proof of madness on his part.

2. With having presented the Florentine Club with the bust of Macchiavelli. Ricci says, that he was requested to allow a cast to be taken from a fine bust in his possession, to be placed in the hall of a literary society founded by the French, but that, fearing the original might be injured, he had given them a bust of Macchiavelli, for which he had no use.

3. Ricci was charged with having in concert with Salicetti, planned the democratization of Tuscany, some months before the entry of the French. He denies this with every expression of horror at the charge; and says, that he never saw Salicetti but once, in 1795 or 6, in a private company, where no allusion was made to politics.

4. Ricci is charged with having been intimately acquainted with M. Reinhard, charged by the French Directory with the organization of Tuscany; with having kept up a correspondence with the French Revolutionists; and with being a Jansenist. Ricci denies all these charges. He says,

that his visits to the Republican Minister were but three or four in number, and their only object was to acknowledge his civility for having forwarded him books and papers through the ministerial bag. That his French correspondence was entirely on literary or ecclesiastical matters. That he cannot be a Jansenist, seeing that he has always condemned the five propositions anathematized by the Church. He then concludes by complaining of the harshness with which he had been treated for fifteen months; and claims not only his public justification, but an indemnity for his sufferings.

On the entrance of the French into Florence, 15th of October, 1800, all the persecutors fled, together with the Pontifical Nuncio, who was at their head. This emissary had been charged to extort from Ricci, with the aid of the Tuscan Government, a dishonourable recantation of all his acts and opinions; but times had now changed, and fear of the victorious French led him to write a very mild letter to Ricci, requesting merely a simple assurance of his submission to the Pope. This he immediately complied with, adding his acknowledgements of entire accordance with the Roman Church in matters of faith, and his abhorrence of schism. He occupied his time during his respite from persecution, in preparing a reply to

the Bull *Auctorem Fidei*, in which he proved, that this Bull only condemns what was condemned by the Synod of Pistoia. This answer was never published.

The weak Austrian Government of *four* was about this time replaced by a French triumvirate; who, as soon as they discovered the 32,000 processes and accusations, condemned them to be publicly burnt. Ricci's was sent to him, and "from it (says he) I discovered that I had been detained at St. Mark's by means of the Archbishop of Florence. *Nihil tam occultum quod non revelabitur!*" The French Government expressed the utmost esteem for the person of Ricci, and regrets for the unworthy persecutions of which he had been the victim. Ricci demanded an acknowledgement of the falsehood of the accusations against him, which the Secretary of the Crown could not refuse. He then retired to his villa, where he employed himself in his usual occupations, with country amusements, and in the improvement both of the face of the country, and the indigent labourers on his land.

His philanthropic plans were interrupted by a severe illness, which no doubt arose out of his late vexations: he was speedily transported to Florence, where the care of his friends soon restored him to health. He would then have

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wished to return to his country-house, had not the approaching arrival of the new King, whom the French Government had so despotically imposed on Tuscany, obliged him to remain at Florence.

CHAPTER V.

Louis the First, King of Etruria.—Treaty with the Pope for Ricci.—Their reconciliation.

Ricci had formed the best opinion of Louis the First of Etruria; but this King, entirely governed by his courtiers, Ventura and Salvatico, instead of showing the philosophical virtues which had been ascribed to him, appeared from the time of his entry into Florence a bigoted fanatic and tyrant, whose character soon revived the popular murmurs which had before disturbed the capital.

The public was menaced, says the Abbé X. with all the dangers which could result from the evil influence of the Capuchin Bishop Turchi, a prelate as violent and ambitious in his exalted station, as he had been mild and reasonable as a priest. He had signalized his episcopacy by seditious homilies, which had been published at

Parma, against the ecclesiastical reforms of the Grand-duke Leopold and Ricci. The new Court, on entering Tuscany, appeared to take no step without expressing its wrath against this devoted land. The ancient Bishop of Pistoia had no reason, therefore, to be astonished, on finding himself refused, by the Counts Ventura and Salvatico, the audience which he had requested them to obtain for him of the King their master. The latter, on hearing the name of Ricci pronounced, had already, with some degree of *naïveté,* asked his courtiers if it was Ricci the *heretic.*

Scarcely had the reign of ignorance and impotence thus commenced, when Rome boldly preferred all her former pretensions to authority. The Nuncio Morozzo imperiously demanded of Ricci the accustomed recantation. The Government produced a plan for an Inquisition of the Faith, on the same footing as the ferocious Inquisition of Spain ; it was proposed that the reading of controversial works should be forbidden, and that the partizans of the ancient reforms should be driven into exile. Happily for Tuscany, the French Minister at Florence never ceased exclaiming against the absurd measures of this unenlightened and imprudent Government. The fear which his influence occasioned, prevented the monks from precipitating their designs, and raised an insur-

mountable obstacle to the machinations of the Nuncio against the ex-Bishop of Pistoia.

This, however, could not prevent the publication of the law of the 15th April, 1802, which the fanatical party had taken care to keep secret, in order to avoid opposition. This law had for its end the destruction of all useful reforms and the ruin of all reformers. It abolished at one blow the ecclesiastical rules, of whatever kind they were, which had been published since the time of the Emperor Francis the First. They loaded the Governments which had shown any inclination to religious reform, with the most injurious epithets. They deprived the Prince for ever of all power and influence over the persons and possessions of the clergy; they took from the Bishops their legitimate and inalienable spiritual authority, to give them a temporal authority which they can and ought never to possess; they exposed the Tuscans to the twofold despotism of the Roman Court; they declared the reforms which had been made in Tuscany to be illegal and heretical; and lastly, the Inquisition of the Nuncio's jurisdiction was established on a firm and indestructible base.

It is difficult to describe the alarm which the unexpected publication of such a law occasioned. The ministers of France and Spain, however, firmly resisted measures which, as well as

the principles which had dictated them, were so opposed to the treaty recently concluded between the French Republic and the Court of Rome. But the blow was struck; the only thing which was gained by the public disapprobation, was the universal contempt of the law, and the proof which was given, in the eyes of all Europe, of the weakness of the Prince who had introduced it. The law of the 15th April was not revoked, nevertheless, the ancient ecclesiastical laws of the Grand-duchy, although abrogated by the new disposition of the Sovereign, remained in full vigour and activity; and the Minister, who sought to restore the deplorable times of Cosmo the Third, was unable to resist them.

But Fanaticism lost about this time her two principal supports in Italy, the Duke of Parma, and Turchi, the Bishop of that city. Louis of Etruria survived them but a short time; he died on the 27th of March 1803.

The Queen Maria Louisa was declared Regent during the minority of her son. "Without experience, vain, and bigoted," says the Abbé X., "and above all, entirely dependent on the former Ministry and on the intriguing and ignorant Morozzo, the Nuncio, she desired nothing so much as to form a close alliance with them, in order to found at Florence a Catholic Academy, the design

of which was to maintain what they called the purity of the faith in the capital and throughout Tuscany, and which took for its rules those of the Holy Office itself. It was composed entirely of the enemies of Leopold's reforms.

Their first endeavours were to abolish the decrees and the laws relating to discipline and education, which had been established by that Prince, and for which they substituted superstition with all its attendant follies.

This frightful commencement gave notice of operations still more disastrous, and of a destructive activity which nothing seemed able to resist. France and Spain hastened to publish an order for its being abolished; and on their proclamation the Catholic Academy was dissolved. The ministers of these two powers were at the same time directed to represent to the Queen that she must moderate a zeal as pernicious as it was ill advised.

Ricci, who again saw himself delivered from the evils which menaced him, regarded his safety as a miracle, which he attributed to the manifest protection of Saint Catherine, his relative; and to testify his gratitude, he associated her as patron with the tutelary Saint of the Church of Rignana, which he repaired on the occasion, and greatly beautified. Not content with these external signs

of his personal devotion to Saint Catherine de Ricci, he endeavoured to animate the devotion of the people, and composed hymns in her honour, which were sung by the faithful.

Scarcely had the Queen learnt this, when she conceived a better opinion of the ex-Bishop of Pistoia than if she had been really convinced of his being the most enlightened and the most virtuous of men. She began by suspecting that he was not irrevocably lost; that it was yet, perhaps, possible for him to be reconciled with the Pope, for till that period she had thought, with the generality of her subjects, that he was an infidel. To form this hope, and the wish to succeed in the project of mediation, was the same thing with Maria Louisa. And she prepared her way by a measure as strange as the project itself. She ordered prayers to be made in several convents, that Heaven would soften the heretical heart of the prelate: lastly, she persuaded the Pope to come to Florence, as he returned from his journey into France to crown Napoleon.

This circumstance gave rise to another, which completed the comedy. Pius the Seventh was at this time in close league with the Arch-duchess of Austria, the foundress of a conservatory of girls called *Paccanaristes*, in the capital of the Catholic world; and having spoken of the invitation he had

received from the Queen of Etruria, and of the desire which that Princess manifested of having Ricci received into his good graces, the mystical Arch-duchess conceived a wish to play a part in this pious enterprise.

"The Arch-duchess," says the Abbé X, "was by nature ingenuous, but was seduced by those who surrounded her. She was under the spiritual direction of Father Paccanari, an ex-Jesuit, a man immoral, intriguing, and unenlightened." The proof of these assertions has been furnished by Pius himself, who was at last obliged to suppress the conservatory of girls which Paccanari had instituted and supported at the expense of the Austrian Princess, while Father Paccanari himself was confined to a convent for the rest of his days. The Arch-duchess addressed a letter to Ricci, on the 19th of October, 1804. In this she accuses him of having led Leopold to do many things inimical to the interests of true religion. She assures him that he had occasioned the eternal destruction of many; and exhorts him to seek his safety by throwing himself at the feet of the Pope, with her letter in his hand. Ricci replied on the 27th of October, by a letter full of dignity and respect, in which he endeavoured to undeceive her with regard to Leopold. "The intentions of that great Prince, your father," said he, "were,

during his reign, as pure as the greater part of his actions were visibly and eminently directed towards the good of religion." With regard to that which personally concerned him, Ricci contents himself with saying that he had constantly lived in unity with the Church, and the Holy See, before which he had often protested, and should again be willing to offer, his submission. This letter was written Nov. 21.

The Pope returned no answer. He had formed the resolution of terminating this affair by a personal interview with Ricci. The Queen of Etruria assured the latter of the pleasure his reconciliation with the Pontiff would give her. Ricci immediately proceeded to the Queen, thanked her for the interest she took in his affairs, and promised to present himself before the Pope, as soon as he should arrive at Florence.

Ricci had great confidence in the Pope, especially after what had occurred in France. He reflected not that it is precisely when the Court of Rome is obliged to yield to the powerful, she increases her oppressions of the weak, to compensate in some measure, by her excessive despotism on the one side, the sacrifices she is obliged to make on the other.

The Pope, well prepared for the character he intended to play, arrived at Florence, May 6th,

1805. Three days after, on the eve of his departure for Rome, he sent the Vicegerent to Ricci's residence to assure him of his desire to embrace him, which however, he gave him to understand, could not take place unless Ricci signed the declaration which the Vicegerent presented. This formula required him to declare that he accepted from his heart and soul the apostolical constitutions passed against Baius, Jansenius, and Quesnel, from the Pontificate of Pius the Fifth to the present time; that he especially accepted the Bull *Auctorem Fidei*, and that he desired this declaration to be made public.

It is impossible to describe the trouble into which Ricci was thrown by this unforeseen circumstance. He had time neither for private reflection, nor for consultation with his friends. All his representations to the Vicegerent were of no avail. The only reply he could obtain was, that there was no longer room for discussion; that he must at once submit himself to the Pope, or never after expect a reconciliation.

Some hours passed in the inexpressible misery of deliberations, hesitation, and anxiety, till at length Ricci decided, at the instigation of his friends Palmieri and the Abbé Fontani, the only persons present at this deplorable scene, that he would yield to the unfortunate necessity of

the times. He mournfully obeyed these persuasions so foreign to the dictates of his own heart, and gave, for the love of peace and unity, a proof of feebleness, the dishonour of which had been concealed as much as possible; he gave it to free himself for ever from the persecutions of ignorance and fanaticism, which were every day gaining an increase of power in Tuscany.

The following are some of Ricci's reflections written after the event, (October 17th, 1805) and which prove that his energy failed not on this occasion through any of the motives which generally render the inconstancy of men in their language or conduct culpable. The opinions of the ex-Bishop remained throughout the same; his apparent change, and it is his best excuse, procured him neither places nor honours, for which he had no desire. He lost by this conduct the esteem of the men whose regard he most valued, and he did violence to his own conscience; but this same conscience, which never spoke to him in vain, persuaded him that he ought, at the price of any sacrifice, to cease to be the cause of discord in the church and of scandal to simple believers. It was a false idea of Christian humility, (a virtue productive of the most amiable graces, but compatible with and favourable to the highest virtues of

fortitude and resolution,) which had the greatest influence in leading him to this step.

But the two friends of Ricci had also considerable influence in bringing him to this decision. "They persuaded me," says the Prelate, "that the Pope had determined to conduct me to Rome as an obstinate rebel, if the affair were not brought to an immediate conclusion. They knew the character of the Cardinals who exercised the chief influence over the Pontiff; and they saw me exposed to the most imminent peril without protection or support."

Ricci, having signed the deed, which was immediately carried to the Pope, was directly conducted by his order to the palace, where he was then residing. Pius the Seventh received him with considerable tenderness. Ricci hastened to protest the unalterable purity of his intentions and his views, especially those which regarded the assembly of his Synod, in which he intended to support those propositions in an orthodox and Catholic sense, which had been condemned as taken in an heretical one by the Bull *Auctorem;* and he then presented the Pope with a declaration which he had written and signed in testimony of the truth of these assertions. The Pope read it attentively; and in returning it to him said, that

it was not at all necessary, and that he was convinced of all that the Bishop had said. " He added," says Ricci, " that since no one could know my internal feelings, and since I had declared that my opinions had always been Catholic, the subject ought no longer to admit of a doubt. He finished by saying, that he should himself be in future the defender of Ricci's orthodoxy and honour, and that he would support them at all times, and wherever he might be."

During this conversation the Queen of Etruria and the Confessor Menocchio entered the apartment where Ricci and the Pope had met. Both of them complimented Ricci on his reconciliation with the Holy See, which gave occasion to the Pope's Confessor to observe, that the Synod of Pistoia was the sole cause of all the revolutions which agitated Europe, and that the Bishop had done well in agreeing to its condemnation. Ricci thought it right not to make any answer to a proposition as ridiculous as it was misplaced.

This Confessor of Pius the Seventh passed for a saint, and even for a saint endowed with the power of working miracles. It had been reported, that on his first journey to Florence, in his way to Paris for the coronation of the Emperor, he had performed a miracle on a man afflicted with an hitherto incurable malady ; but this prodigy having

had only a momentary effect, the importance which had been given to it vanished with the influence he had on the disease. Menocchio was a great admirer of Gerdil, and had much veneration for him: the ignorance of this Cardinal in theology is sufficiently proved by his writings, and also by the Bishop of Noli. We cannot, therefore, feel astonished at his evincing so violent an aversion to the Council of Pistoia.

The Pope showed himself very sensible of the pains which Ricci had taken to clear himself from having supported the eighty-five obnoxious articles in the sense in which they had been condemned by the Bull *Auctorem;* he appeared inclined to change these words, *for a remedy of the scandal,* into these, *for general edification.* But Menocchio using, or rather abusing the influence which he possessed over the Pope as his spiritual director, prevented this change; "because," said he, "the Synod of Pistoia was guilty of the total overthrow of discipline, and of the opposition which was then made to religion."

M. the Abbé X. also gives us an account of the motives which determined Ricci to sign the declaration. "He was firmly resolved," says he, "to exculpate himself from the accusation of his not believing in the Pope, which his refusal to visit him when all Florence was at the feet of his

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Holiness, would have confirmed beyond doubt. Besides which, Ricci was pressed by the Queen Regent, who ardently desired to effect through any means a reconciliation between these eminent personages. He considered that had he refused he should have every thing to fear, and that he could only expect either a new imprisonment, or a perpetual exile, as the consequence of persevering in what was called schism, or of his wounding the pride of the Princess, by making her negotiation useless. On the other hand, the Pope had manifested his determination to cut short all difficulties and disputes, and he had had the declaration drawn up as the only method of terminating the difficulties. Ricci, who was an ardent lover of peace and unity, believed it to be his duty to sacrifice his self-love in doing what, says he, rightly considered, was but an act of submission and obedience, which would not in any way wrong the depot of faith.

"He reflected, that if he yielded on some points of discipline, he did but accommodate himself to circumstances. These had totally changed; it was necessary that a wise and prudent man should change with them, and that, still desiring to effect good, he should be willing to seek it by other means more adapted at the time to effect his purpose.

"He reflected above all, that being reduced to

the station of a private man, he ought to give up the innovations and reforms which he had made as a Bishop, and without the consent of the Holy See, to the judgment of the Pope. It had been told him that the whole Church was in opposition to him, and he believed that it was his duty to tolerate with the Church the things which he believed it no more really approved of than he did himself. He respectfully, therefore, submitted his will to the decisions of the Bull *Auctorem*, that he might not appear an ambitious and obstinate innovator."

We must confess, however, that this acceptation of the declaration regarded not merely discipline; it also contained the condemnation of the propositions which the Holy See had particularized in its sentence; it even contained the condemnation of Baius, Jansenius, and of Quesnel.

Ricci had passed his life in the study of this subject, but he was willing to re-examine it; and the consequence of his researches was, that he did not consider it necessary to revive the discussions and the discord to which these authors had given birth. Rome had shown itself as zealously determined to sustain its Bulls against Jansenism, as its enemies to refuse them; a deplorable schism was the natural consequence; and the history of religion for a long time was only that of an almost

interminable theological dispute. "The two parties," says Ricci, "were equally the enemies of error while they could see it; but the discussions of the schools, the exasperation produced by the examination of unintelligible dogmas, and more than all, the pride of the human mind and sectarian jealousy, had dictated mutual sentences of condemnation, which rendered discord and hatred perpetual. And then, Baius and Jansenius, had not they submitted themselves to the Holy See? and had not all Catholics condemned, at least externally, the five propositions?" The ex-Bishop of Pistoia condemned them also, and not only those which were enumerated, but whatever others might any where exist.

These reflections, and others of the same kind, made after the surprise which had obtained his signature to the declaration was over, and in calm and silence, determined Ricci to adhere to the same declaration when uninduced by any foreign consideration.

The news of his reconciliation with Pius VII. procured him a great number of visits and complimentary letters from all the prelates of Tuscany. The public from that period hastened to show him the most distinguished esteem and veneration. But it was not this which he had sought in taking the important step which had cost him so much

anxiety; and he hastened from this universal attention, which had no charms for him, to the solitude of his country-house.

It was there he learnt the judgment which was pronounced on the decision he had taken. Some saw in it only a proof of inconstancy and feebleness; others regarded it as a true recantation and abjuration of his errors. Ricci cared for neither the one nor the other; and he considered that he ought to be judged more according to his intentions than his actions. It was with the same feeling that he wrote to the Pope, May 20th, 1805, to compliment him on his return to his capital, to ratify anew his declaration, and to protest his sincere submission and gratitude.

His part was irrevocably taken; nothing could make him recall a determination of this kind. Since he had sacrificed his conscience, it was a proof that he had believed the resolution indispensable. He was blamed for it by those who considered his recantation as the unworthy price of a few years' inglorious repose: he was praised for it by those who considered it a true and praiseworthy conversion. He merited neither the praise nor the blame; he knew that he had no want of conversion, and he expected not any worldly peace on the part of those who had troubled his tranquillity and happiness: in one word,

he had never considered himself in performing this act, which made him conclude in an error, of which the consequences were incalculable, a life so innocent and virtuous. Deceived with regard to the true state of the Church at this time, Ricci sincerely desired to serve the cause of religion, and he perceived not that the Court of Rome made use of him only for its own purposes. The ex-Bishop of Pistoia, without doing any good, was the cause of much evil which his adversaries did in his name, and he lost the reputation so long merited, of that firmness and strength of soul, of which he had given many brilliant proofs during his episcopal career. In a moment he destroyed his own work; his enemies, freed from all fear, had now only to mention Ricci as the submitted and repentant child of Rome,—Ricci, the courageous and enlightened reformer of Tuscany! After having been the scourge of the intriguing, and terror of the hypocrites, he finished by becoming their sport and their dupe, and by furnishing them with arms which he had so often broken in their hands.

CHAPTER VI.

Considerations on Ricci's Recantation.—His Sincerity defended.—His Illness and Death.

RICCI was sincere in the sentiments which he expressed to the Pope, and every thing leads us to suppose that the Pope was equally reconciled to him.

M. l'Abbé X. remarks how different was the conduct of the Pontiff from that of the persecutors of Ricci, and, among others, of the Cardinal Gonsalvi, who repaid the efforts of the prelate to confirm the reconciliation, with harsh and severe treatment. According to this writer, the reason was, that Pius VII. then Bishop of Imola, "when Tuscany laboured for the reorganization of its ecclesiastical regime, through the care of the indefatigable and sage Leopold,—Pius VII, who, as is generally known, did not see with an evil eye the spirit of the new legislation of the Grand-duke," would not expose himself by condemning

in others, what he had formerly approved in himself.

Scarcely had the Pontiff received the letter from Ricci, than he charged Monsignor Fenaja to thank him in his name, and to promise him an answer from his own hand. This answer, says M. l'Abbé X., was delayed for a whole month, through the intrigues of the enemies of the Bishop and of his ancient reforms, the editors of the Bull *Auctorem*, and the Cardinal Gonsalvi, "who had written to Ricci the letter before mentioned, full of the malice of the *curialistes;*" all being equally irritated to find this affair had terminated easily, without either their participation or knowledge. Not being able to obtain from the Pope, contrary to his promise, a repeal of what he had done, and to exact from the ex-Bishop of Pistoia new recantations and abjurations, under the vain pretext that his declaration was not sufficiently frank and complete, they endeavoured to insert in the Pope's answer to Ricci, some injurious expressions, and to dictate still more insulting terms, which the Pope repeated before the College of Cardinals.

The letter of the Sovereign Pontiff, dated 21st June, contained expressions of joy, which their reconciliation had caused him, in consequence of the sincere adherence of the prelate to all the sen-

tences emanating from the Holy See, against Jansenism and the Synod of Pistoia, and, above all, the spontaneous confirmation of the declaration which he had signed at Florence. In speaking to Ricci of this, the Pope or his counsellors added malignantly: "By the means of which act you have declared that you reprove and condemn all the evil you have done."

The consistory was held the 26th of the same month. Pius VII. after having given an account to the Cardinals of the affairs of France, passed to that of the ex-Bishop of Pistoia. He related what had taken place at Florence, during his last abode there, and reported word for word the precise terms of the declaration which the ex-Bishop had signed. All had passed in good order till then; but the Pontiff, in relating the protestations which Ricci had made with his own mouth at their first interview, said that the prelate had assured him that, "*even in the midst of his errors,* his mind had always remained attached to the orthodox faith and to the apostolic see." He terminated by saying, since his return to Rome, Ricci had written to him to ratify "the recantation made at Florence."

M. l'Abbé X. relieved these little vexations, by which it had been hoped to wreck the mind of Ricci, and drive him to some resolution

which might furnish means for overturning and annihilating all that he had done. Like the ex-Bishop of Pistoia, he attributed all these intrigues to the perfidious counsellors of the Pope, who abused his simplicity and imposed on his weakness.

Ricci himself is still more precise on this article, in the manuscript *Memoires* which he has left concerning his arrest by the Aretins; he openly accuses the Cardinal Gonsalvi of the base design of having wished to persecute him, even after his entire defeat. The proofs alleged are too important not to be given in the original expressions.

"The Cardinal Gonsalvi," says the unfortunate Bishop, "was very much piqued at my affair having terminated without his interposition or approbation; and habituated as he is to treat the Pope with a superiority which does not belong to him, I do not doubt but he has made known his vexation."

The Pope's answer to Ricci's letter (the most remarkable passage of which we have already given) was sent from Rome, to the Pontifical Nuncio in Tuscany; who sent it to the prelate, then in the city. The Nuncio paid the ex-Bishop of Pistoia a visit the same day, "and by order of the Cardinal Secretary of state, (these were his expressions,) he wished," said Ricci, "to make me

feel the general disapprobation caused by my letter to the Pope, as if it had been a proof of my dissimulation in regard to the signature of the formula. He added, that the Pope was very discontented with it; that he wished to make me feel his indignation; that the reconciliation had been on the point of being destroyed, but for the observations which the Pope had made on my letter in his address to the consistory. Finally, he told me (always however in the name of the Secretary of state) that the Pope was kind, and that he had been surprised; but that I must pay attention and regulate my conduct with circumspection for the future."

Ricci answered these vain menaces with a smile. He proved to the Nuncio that Pius VII. was perfectly satisfied with what had taken place, and he proved it even by the letter of the Pontiff, which was written in the most obliging and flattering terms.

"At length," says Ricci, "having taken a more serious and decided tone, I informed him that M. the Cardinal offended me; that my rank, the education I had received as a Christian and a citizen, and above all, the character which I possessed, made me abhor with detestation, every kind of dissimulation and falsehood. I made him understand that the affair had been begun and

completed by the Holy Father himself, with the intervention of the Queen, and that he had not been surprised into it."

Having thus succeeded in proving that the Pope fully approved his conduct and sentiments, and that he had clearly made this known by his letter, as he had also done to the whole Church by his address to the consistory of Cardinals, notwithstanding the expressions by which a hostile hand had found the means of disfiguring these two convincing proofs, Ricci requested the Nuncio to give particular attention to a passage in the letter of Pius VII. thus worded:—

"Would to Heaven you had long ago put us in a situation to afford you this consolation (that of a reconciliation). If we ourselves had been alone personally concerned, it would have been afforded you long before. Indeed, we have been always disposed not only to press you to our heart, and to receive you with all possible tenderness into the favour of the Holy See, but we have always most ardently desired it, and we only waited for that one indispensable requisite to our reconciliation, which you have at length decided to afford us."

"I might say," continues the ex-Bishop, after having read this passage to the Nuncio, "that my first letter to the Pope, written March 29th, 1800,

to compliment him on his elevation, was never presented; I might add, that the uncivil reply which the Cardinal Gonsalvi made me in the name of the Pope, was given unknown to the Pontiff, and was conceived in opposition to his maxims and sentiments; that it was fabricated by a person who produced a false letter from me, entirely different to that I had written, that he might address me an injurious reply, and one full of all the animosity and abuse which a base mind and an ignorant man is capable of conceiving."

Ricci contented himself with answering the Nuncio in this dignified manner, so becoming the firmness of a man of honour. Silence and resignation were now the only arms he could oppose to his enemies; for had he used others, he would have aided their designs, and at once produced a fatal rupture with the Roman court.

The 1st of July, he wrote again to the Pope, with expressions of the warmest gratitude, thanking him for his obliging letter.

On the 17th, he received a second answer, full of civility, and as affectionate as the first.

This direct correspondence between the ex-Bishop of Pistoia and the Holy Father, rendered all the endeavours of his intriguing persecutors vain.

When the prelate received the last letter from

the Pope, he called on the Nuncio. "He told me, (these are the words of Ricci,) with much politeness, that he did not doubt my sincerity, and that he could not conceive why the Cardinal Secretary of state continued to insist upon the necessity of watching my conduct.—I answered by a smile; and I asked if it was very warm at Rome? This indifferent question disconcerted the Nuncio a little, who, from that time, never entered into a similar conversation."

The Bishop of Pistoia, after having related this anecdote in his *Memoires*, says that he never mentioned it to any one during his life, to avoid the commentaries, interpretations, and disputes, which it might have occasioned; he wished to trouble neither the peace of the Church, nor his own repose, which he had purchased at so high a price; he recollected that the peace of Clement IX. was not troubled by the enemies of order, till the *soi-disans* Jansenists had indulged themselves in too proud a boasting on the subject.

"The Court of Rome," adds he, "not being provoked, will have neither occasion, nor pretext, for inventing new intrigues, to deface and overturn what has been done, as the Cardinal Secretary of state, and some other *curialistes*, perhaps desire." But, however this might be, Ricci, beloved by all who had the honour of knowing

him, was the more modest on that account. The public voice designated him as the worthiest prelate to occupy the See of Florence, whenever it should become vacant, and that of Pisa, when it was vacant.

The satisfaction which the esteem of his countrymen gave him, was a little troubled by many letters which he received from Tuscany, and from foreigners, with bitter reproaches on what they called his weakness, and desertion from the side of truth: he was even attacked by the press, as a man who had basely belied his opinions.

The ex-Bishop of Pistoia consoled himself with the society of learned men and celebrated artists: he himself cultivated the belles-lettres, and was made a member of divers academies.

Religious studies, which he made a duty of, continued to be his chief occupation. He composed at this time some pious theological works; amongst which were, "Des Considérations sur les Epîtres de St. Paul, sur l'Oraison Dominicale, &c. &c." The interest which he took in promoting the worship of St. Catherine de Ricci, who, says he, had so ardently contemplated the mysteries of our Saviour's passion, induced him to ask of the Pope himself a plenary indulgence for the festival of that Saint. Ricci's letter was written the 20th January, 1806; and he received an

answer from the Pope in February following, granting him all he had asked.

He thought of nothing from that time, but of celebrating, with the greatest pomp, the feast of the Saint, his relative. He had prayers printed which he wished the people to address to her, and he added instructions for the devout, to merit the pontifical indulgence; he had medals struck with the image of Saint Catherine, and pious inscriptions and prayers upon them, to be distributed among the faithful.

It is scarcely possible to recognize in this conduct the enlightened co-operator of Leopold, and the eloquent author of the discourse against the abuse of indulgences, pronounced at the assembly of the Tuscan Bishops.

The religious triflings of Ricci had not stifled his virtues. He conducted himself with much greatness of soul towards the family of Senator Ricci, ever since the death of his brother, who had for a long time shown himself the most fanatical of his persecutors.

He was very bountiful to the poor; but his fortune was considerably decreased by the union of Tuscany with the French empire in 1806. The pension which he enjoyed of two thousand crowns per annum, was withdrawn, till he should furnish proofs of the legitimacy of the titles on

which it had been assigned to him: this did not take place till a short time before his death.

Ricci now felt his end approaching. He wished again to enjoy the country; and lest he should be taken ill unawares, he arranged his affairs, and made his will, before quitting Florence.

He was scarcely settled at his villa, before he had two severe attacks of epilepsy, which caused so much fear for his life, that the sacraments were administered to him; after which, he returned to Florence.

He there appeared to regain his health and strength, when suddenly his malady returned with more violence than before. Humours, which at first covered the whole of his body, and which the physicians attributed to the chagrins he had laboured under, at length fixed in his legs, and made him suffer severely.

His devotion increased in proportion to the decay of his health. He was seen more than once weeping at the feet of his confessor. "The fervour and unction with which he said mass," says his biographer, "when his strength would permit him, which was very seldom, cannot be described. He remained after the consecration as if in a trance, with the host in his hand, and shedding torrents of tears. His patience, resignation, and gentle-

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ness, during a long illness, and dreadful sufferings, edified every one who approached him.

Ricci received the *viaticum* on the 18th of January, 1810, and from that moment he thought of nothing but the welfare of his soul: he appeared already detached from the world, in which a remnant of life retained him, in spite of himself. He delayed not to request the extreme unction. On the 25th of January, he received from his Curé the papal benediction called *In articulo mortis*, and expired during the night of the 27th.

The religious feelings which he thus evinced during his last moments, convinced those, who had hitherto doubted it, of the sincerity of his belief. One requisite, however, for their full conviction was still wanting; he showed no remorse for his past actions, he never spoke of his reforms, and he was only heard to implore the pardon of God, for ever having mixed any human motives with the maxims which had guided him during his episcopacy.

His body was carefully embalmed, and laid for public observation in the church of Sta Maria Maggiore, his parish. Crowds of people collected to see the remains, and for many days the constant and deep laments of his fellow countrymen forcibly recalled the remembrance of his virtues and his talents.

The canons and all the clergy of the cathedral requested permission of his family to perform over him the ceremonies of religion. They proceeded in procession to the church of Sta Maria Maggiore, and performed with great pomp and solemnity the rites which their admiration and regret prompted them to fulfil. Even the Bishop of Fiesole, who had shown such a mean and paltry spirit of envy towards the superior talents of the Bishop, attended to assist at the last rites performed over his estimable colleague. These ceremonies being concluded, the body of Ricci was carried to his villa at Rignana, where he had requested to be interred by his Curé.

The virtuous Bishop was regretted as much abroad as he was in Tuscany; and his family was assured of it by the most honourable testimonies. We shall only cite the letter of condolence, which the Pope, as soon as the death of Ricci was announced to him, hastened to write to the Chevalier John Baptist Ricci, brother of the prelate. Toli, Bishop of Pistoia and Prato, had a funeral-service performed even at Pistoia with much solemnity; and the people who assisted at it, manifested the most lively and sincere regrets.

The author of the manuscript life of Ricci has added a short conclusion to these details, in which he answers those who accused the prelate of

being alone in his reformations, and appropriating rights to himself, which belong exclusively to the Holy See. He proves that the reforms which had been undertaken, related not to universal discipline, but to certain abuses existing more particularly in Pistoia and Prato than in any other place, whose existence kept the people in ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism, and nurtured the ambition, avarice, and dissipation of both the high and inferior clergy,—abuses indeed which, when Ricci had lost all influence, were extirpated for the most part, to the great contentment of pious and rational people, the rest seeming to take no interest in the affair. "In these latter times," says the same writer in his history of the diocesan council of Ricci, "we applaud the opinions and maxims which were received with horror as the actions of the Synod of Pistoia; and we now pursue in tranquillity, and even with zeal, a considerable number of those same reforms which were detested at the epoch of the assembly."

The author finishes, after the example, says he, of Bishop Ricci, by declaring that he received and venerated with all his heart the Bull *Auctorem Fidei*. After which, he adds: "30th May, 1822, I the Abbé X. have put in order these Memoirs, in testimony of which I sign my name."

CHAPTER VII.

A General Survey of the Life and Pontificate of Ricci.

THE education which Scipio de Ricci received in childhood gave his mind a devotional character; but the cultivation of his reason and temper would not allow him to become either fanatical or superstitious. He was born a Catholic, and destined for an ecclesiastic. Jansenism was his only refuge, and he embraced it with sincerity.

His reflections upon the Pontifical Court, which he visited,—a servile, intriguing, and egotistical court—are precious from the mouth of so sincerely pious a priest; his refusal to make a fortune through it, when he entered on the career of the prelacy, shows the disinterestedness of his noble mind: he wished to remain an honest man.

Ricci assisted in the destruction of the Jesuits, whom he detested as a political body, whose existence threatened governments and kings, cor-

rupted the morality of the people, and prostituted religion. He beheld among them the falsifiers of the holy doctrines of religion, the satellites of the monstrous Papal monarchy, the enemies of every one whom they could not make subservient to their ends, and the poisoners of Ganganelli's mind.

From the time he was named Vicar-general of the Archbishoprick of Florence, he manifested his firm intention to be a patriot priest, ever ready to second the Prince who then reigned for the happiness of Tuscany. The first proof which he gave of it, was by co-operating in the republication of books which unveiled the ambition, lusts, infamy, and crimes of several Popes,—books which Rome had condemned, *au premier chef*, as irreligious and impious.

When he became Bishop of Pistoia and Prato, he traced out with severity the line of his duties; and remained constantly and courageously attached to it, till the fury of his enemies obliged him to quit the diocese.

The commencement of his episcopal government was the origin of all the evils which he suffered towards the close of his life, and of the persecutions under which he sank. He had irritated the powerful and dangerous body of monks; and by attacking their privileges, and unveiling their turpitudes, he threatened the Court of Rome with the loss of the greatest number, and the most zea-

lous, of her emissaries: from that time his ruin was decided on.

A philosopher would have tolerated the superstitious worship of the *sacré cœur*, added by the Jesuits to preceding superstitions, till human reason complaining of it, should confound it with the mummeries already consecrated to ridicule. A philosopher, if he had known the cloisters to conceal individuals of both sexes, who had vowed to violate the laws of Nature, and not to fulfil the duties of society, would have considered it of very little importance, whether these persons lived according to the strange rules of their order or not, or whether they preserved the chastity they believed to be agreeable to God.

But Ricci was a Catholic from his infancy, and his office as pastor obliged him to inspect the religious opinions of his sect. The worship of the *sacré cœur* was an abominable idolatry in his eyes, so much the more dangerous, because it was introduced by the authors of every error, by the destroyers of morality,—in a word, by the Jesuits; to whom it was destined to give credit and power.

He could not behold, without horror, the dissoluteness of manners in the convents of the Dominican nuns, where the monks of that order openly taught atheism, encouraged the most disgraceful libertinism, and filled them with impurity, sacri-

lege, and debauchery of every kind. He could not help expressing his indignation at the indifference of the superiors, of the chief of the order at the Court of Rome, and against the ruler of the Catholics, who, though they had been for a long time instructed with regard to these turpitudes, refused to take any step towards putting an end to them. Had he not every reason to conclude that these people must be of a different religion to himself, and to despise them, because they pretended to persecute him on account of a zeal for that religion?"

What religious soul would not shudder at seeing immorality thus added to profanation, and corruption bringing forth impiety? By tolerating these crimes, the Pope plainly announced his indulgence of them; but by encouraging their commission, he was, in some measure, making himself an accomplice.

The hatred of the numerous party, whose interest it was to keep up these abuses, did not prevent Ricci's continuing steadily in the route he had marked out. Doing away with several pernicious practices of devotion, he laboured constantly to make the language of religion more respectable, by making his priests men of exemplary conduct, fathers of the people, intended to instruct them in their duties, to guide them in their con-

duct, and to console them under their misfortunes. Animated by these holy views, he banished itinerant missionaries, and improved the catechisms enjoined for the faithful by the Court of Rome, both of which were likely to increase the favour of the multitude for the absurd prerogatives of the Papacy.

Ricci was tolerant, because his piety was that of a just and reasonable man, rather than that of a blind reformer. This was to contradict himself as a Catholic; but the time was come when such inconsistency was inevitable.

Ricci, who detested the conduct and opinions of the two perverted nuns of his diocese, detested still more the cruelty of the Archbishop Martini, who had used violence to convert them.

The decree of Leopold for abolishing even the name of the Inquisition in Tuscany, was attributed at the time to the Bishop of Pistoia—the greatest praise which could have been given to this philanthropic pastor. Public instruction was a great object with Leopold and Ricci, as it is with all true friends of humanity. The Bishop laboured more particularly in forming enlightened and wise ecclesiastics; because through them the people would gain knowledge, and the peace and prosperity of the State would be ensured as the natural result of good management.

Pistoia had its ecclesiastical academy; and if the studies of the regular monks had been reformable, the activity of Ricci, excited by the exhortations of Leopold, would have introduced a better method of instruction. But the monks, who were of every country, were only ignorant egotists, inclined to evil, and attached by interest to the Court of Rome, which supported them by numerous sacrifices, as being its most devoted and redoubtable soldiery. Having endeavoured to correct them, to make them useful priests, and good citizens, was a great crime in the Bishop of Pistoia; and in order to destroy this dangerous enemy to error, efforts were even made by the Court of Rome, and by the monks, to assassinate him.

The establishment of the ecclesiastical patrimony caused no little uneasiness at Rome. Some of the ministers whose salaries were thus made entirely independent of its influence, began to lose sight of its interests in their desire to diffuse the principles of morality and religion. This revolution, as desirable for Tuscany as it was inimical to Rome, whose grandeur and elevation were established on the servility and blind adulation of all around her, seemed by the unremitted care and exertions of Ricci, about to produce a speedy and important improvement. Not content with mere-

ly instructing his clergy on the inalienable rights of the civil power, on those of the clergy, and on the usurpations by which the Holy See had weakened both the one and the other; he showed them still farther by his example, how these rights should be restored to their legitimate possessors, more especially as the Prince who then reigned in Tuscany, made it an imperative duty. Authorized by the Government, which Ricci recognized as the only power possessing the right of regulating the civil contract of marriage, Ricci dispensed with many points deemed essential by his diocesans; and no longer permitted the Roman Datary to possess any authority in Tuscany.

The priests, deprived of their ecclesiastical perquisites, were thus also robbed of all their temporal jurisdiction, of all authority in secular affairs; and saw themselves obliged to submit with resignation, by the example of the Bishop himself, who voluntarily renounced privileges which had been accorded to the clergy in ages of barbarism and ignorance.

The object nearest Ricci's heart was the deliverance of the clergy from the influence of the Court of Rome; and he exposed to the Prince the abuses of the oath of fidelity, which the Holy See requires of every Bishop when it grants its Bulls. With regard to most of them, this oath is

a fatal bond: it retains them in the most deadly opposition to all legislative measures, which, having no other object than the happiness of the people, would diminish the overgrown authority of the Holy See. With these designs constantly in view, Ricci used every endeavour to enlighten his diocese by the diffusion of such books as seemed most calculated to produce this effect. Many of these were the productions of Jansenists, and not calculated perhaps, by the austerity of their severe principles, for the peculiar situation in which the people were placed. But they taught them to controvert the idea of an infallible authority; and they demonstrated to them the absurdity as well as the injustice of the greater part of its boasted infallible procedures.

The reforms in the diocese of Pistoia alarmed not only the Court of Rome, but the Tuscan ministry; it was incessantly employed in alleging difficulties, and inventing obstacles to disgust the Grand-duke with the idea of innovation; but it saw all its attempts overthrown by the skill and attention of the Bishop. They feared, at the same time, the penetrating observation of their master, and that of the public, which the new legislation had awakened to reflection. This was to sap the very foundations of despotism and ignorance; but notwithstanding the efforts of the Prince, they continued perseveringly in their machinations.

This similarity of interests between the Tuscan Ministry and the Court of Rome, formed the band of an alliance, the principal effect of which was to perpetuate the evils of humanity, by perpetuating the darkness in which its enemy stood protected. The vain and haughty aristocracy hastened to take part in a league, which promised them the preservation of all the prejudices on which their exorbitant privileges were established; and Ricci, thus in open war with the Pope and his monks, the nobility, and the Government, had no support but the esteem of Leopold and a good conscience.

But we now approach a period which, as it more and more developed the projects of the Grand-duke and the Bishop, induced the natural enemies of reform to concentrate their means of attack and defence, and dispose them to the best advantage against their courageous and indefatigable adversary; whilst the latter, by incessantly unveiling their chicanery and incapacity, exposed them to the anger of the Prince, and to the irreparable destruction of themselves and their evil influence. We are speaking of the epoch distinguished by the Synod of Pistoia, which Ricci convoked in conformity with the orders of Leopold, after having given his clergy, as he supposed, sufficient instruction to make them enter into views, inspired by religion and patriotism.

He was not deceived by the majority of the priests, to whom he restored their dignity and their rights, while he resumed his own. The populace alone remained exposed to the intrigues, and to the powerful means of corruption, which the ministers, the nobles, and the emissaries of the Pope brought into action. Ricci's success deceived Leopold. He committed the inexcusable error of inviting to his councils the dignified clergy of Tuscany ; namely, a body necessarily interested in resisting the intentions which he had manifested to effect their good ; and he imprudently furnished this dangerous party with an occasion of making their opposition popular, and of openly professing themselves to be the support and guide of the wandering multitude.

The issue of the ecclesiastical assembly of Florence was the signal of a tumult at Prato. This popular rising was repressed without trouble ; but the example was given, the multitude of hypocrites and fanatics had seen how easily superstition inflames a people long subdued by despotism. Rome dared to conceive the vast plan of arming the people against all sovereign reformers of abuses, among which her own hold the first rank. Already had her projects been made manifest in the affairs of Belgium, where she preached the sovereignty of the people, to the great profit of

avaricious monks and imbecile nobles, as well as her own.

The revolt of several Tuscan cities was fomented in the same manner, and by the same agents. That of Prato was followed by another at Pistoia, which was only appeased by the flight of Ricci, by the abolition of the religious reforms which he had established, and by the restoration of all the abuses of superstition and servility towards Rome. The same spirit extended to Florence, where the minister lost no time in completing this work of darkness. He effected his design without trouble. The only man who could have opposed him, had quitted Tuscany. Leopold, seated on the Imperial throne, supported not the advancement of his fortune; and philosophy had to lament at one and the same time, the death of Joseph, and the elevation of the Grand-duke. Fanaticism everywhere obtained a complete victory, and brought back in triumph her usual companions, Ignorance and Superstition.

During these events, the French revolution took place; and from its commencement the eyes of all Europe were riveted too closely on the spectacle it presented, to be diverted by any object of minor interest. Rome seized the opportunity for persecuting Ricci, who was enjoying the repose he had obtained by the resignation of his diocese. A

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Bull, a monument of bad faith, was issued against him. But although far from the world and its storms, Ricci conceived himself equally obliged to assist such of his brethren as were exposed to their fury, and all his decisions were a new homage to sincerity. Thus, in answer to some questions from France, he replied, that the clergy might and ought to take the national oath prescribed by the representatives of the people; and that the people should regard the priests so obeying, as their legitimate spiritual guides.

Rome and Tuscany were at this time under the power of the Republican arms, which they had brought against them by their crooked policy. Ricci lived in voluntary exile, and far from a world which had never thoroughly understood him. He was forced from his retreat in the most unjustifiable manner. Some brigands, who had come down from Arezzo to pursue the stragglers of the French army, in full retreat after the battle of Trebia, took possession of the Tuscan capital in the name of the Emperor of Austria, and the pretended miraculous Virgin of the city. They committed every excess, and every crime, of which the fanaticism of priests, or the folly of an imbecile government, could be guilty. The ex-Bishop of Pistoia was thrown into prison with all the partisans of Leopold, and with every Jansenist

who had not sacrificed the interests of his country to the despotism of Rome. Here follows a long list of the persecutions which Ricci had suffered, and which show the infamy of his persecutors, their intrigues, their machinations, and cruelties, in the strongest light. Nothing was neglected to satisfy the implacable vengeance of Rome and its partisans, and to soothe the vanity of the nobles, whom Leopold had driven into the obscurity to which Nature had condemned them. Whilst the persecutions were at their greatest height, Ricci, by turns flattered and menaced, wearied by measures the most adapted to exhaust the patience and courage of an isolated old man, attacked on the most feeble side, which his unsuspicious and virtuous soul offered to his cunning and malignant enemies—Ricci was by degrees prepared for an act of condescension, to which he would never have consented, had he been able to see it under the same light in which it appeared to his best friends.

Already had the victories of the French in Italy snatched the unfortunate Bishop from the Court of Rome, which regarded him as its prey; but soon after the Tuscans, sacrificed to a deplorable policy, became by the most illegal measures, the allies of a weak and superstitious despot, of a wild and extravagant woman, and of a minister equally devoid of talents and virtue. Rome, existing

but by evil, and only triumphing in darkness, saw that the days of glory were returning, and hoped to regain in Tuscany all the ground she had lost. The abolition of the liberal institutions of Leopold and the French, and the establishment of the abuses which had been extirpated, preceded the fall of Ricci. Overwhelmed with evils without end, terrified by preceding atrocities, seduced by every thing which could make him mistake a feeble for a virtuous action; he signed an instrument, which he believed was but consigning the past to forgetfulness, but which his dissembling enemies took care to convert into a condemnation of his whole previous conduct, and of the motives which had directed it.

The humiliation of Ricci was the only thing of which Pius the Seventh could boast, on his return to Rome after the coronation of Napoleon. After this circumstance, the ex-Bishop led a languishing life, till death put an end to his sorrows and his misfortunes.

The entire life of Ricci was, as we have seen, a continued series of attacks against the Court of Rome, whose pretensions to the imprescriptible rights of governments and of people, and its spiritual despotism over the members of the Catholic clergy, he never ceased to combat. He unmasked its hypocrisy, he exposed its ambition, cupidity,

intrigues, and cabals, and citing it before the bar of the civilized world, in the name of reason, justice, and religion, he menaced it with a near and inevitable destruction. It was utterly impossible, however, that any agreement could exist between a power which flattered, caressed, and exalted the Jesuits, by every means it possessed, and a prelate, who exposed their pernicious system of morality, their principles subversive of society, and their dangerous practices of superstitious devotion.

The zeal of Ricci, while only Vicar-general of the Archbishoprick of Florence, for the re-establishment of ecclesiastical studies, according to a more rational plan than that in vogue, was another vexation, which the Court of Rome was not more ready to pardon than his contempt of the Jesuits. The motive is evident; all the doctrines they received were favourable to a system of that universal priesthood they had contributed to establish, and to the power of the Popes, which they sustained. Every attempt against the scholastics and the modern casuists, was an act of hostility against the Court of Rome; every attempt to direct the attention of the clergy to the holy scriptures, and to give some authority to the canons and the fathers of the primitive Church, was a breach made in the temporal authority of the Pope; it was a victory

over those pretensions to spiritual infallibility, which are continually contradicting the words of those fathers who lived before the invention of this absurd dogma.

The same observation may be made in respect to Ricci's activity in circulating good books, "which," said this enlightened Bishop, "all the world ought to be acquainted with, as the province of truth is the patrimony of all men without exception." His whole episcopacy was, in fact, but a train of operations to exalt learning, and to furnish materials proper for its successful pursuit.

But that which most of all tended to confirm the enmity of the Roman Court against Ricci, was the affair of the Dominicans of his diocese. Having proved to the whole world that the false or forced virtues of the monks and nuns are but a tissue of hypocrisy, and most frequently become a stimulant to the most odious vices; having shown that the institutions called *Virginales* were generally schools of corruption and libertinism; having at length brought to light the infamous viciousness of the *soi-disant* tribunal of penitence, these were unpardonable crimes in the eyes of one, whose existence as well as authority depended on the blindness of men who yielded themselves to the impudent jugglers that surrounded his throne. But how much was this enmity increased, when

the activity of Ricci made it appear that the nuns, the monks, their superiors, even the chief of the order, and the Pope himself, not only tolerated these disorders, but took no measures to arrest the Dominicans in their incredulity, impiety, and atheism, or to prevent their every day adding new victims to those they had been making for nearly a century and a half!

Ricci was a Jansenist, that is to say, he had openly assumed the ensigns of opposition to the Roman Court; he had frankly entered into a league, which was at first formed by the exasperation of a party arbitrarily oppressed by the Popes, and the ranks of which were soon filled by all who considered the existence of Rome incompatible with the actual state of society, and even with the existence of the religion on which the Popes founded their authority.

Ricci was in public correspondence with this party, scattered through France, Spain, Germany, and Italy. He was nominally so with the church which the Jansenists had established in Holland, and which, by offering its friendship to Rome, though determined never to form a State within a State, amply revenged the anathemas hurled against it. Now Rome could not refuse this offer, from any other motive than because she was determined to remain a State within a

State; that is to say, to trouble every State in which the Roman clergy were recognized as the spiritual guides of the people, and the Pope as the absolute chief of the clergy.

All the exertions of Ricci seemed to render him odious to the bigoted Papists. The reclaiming of his Episcopal rights, which had been usurped by Rome, and the restoration of those of the Curés, were dangerous examples to the other Prelates, who had any idea of the democratic organization of the primitive church. The conduct of Ricci, and the principles it inculcated, menaced the Popes with a revolution which would make them, the brothers of bishops, become the brothers of their curés, and which, by depriving them of the power and riches they had so long enjoyed, would render it necessary for them to obtain virtues and talents, which could alone make them the first among their equals.

The project of making the monks useful as priests and honest citizens, as also that of reforming the catechism, tended to deprive the Popes of their most fanatical emissaries, and to free religious persons from the danger of being deceived by their glosses and artifices. The plan of an ecclesiastical academy completed Ricci's system; and that of the patrimony of the clergy delivered the pastors and their flocks for ever from all foreign interference. The purifying of public

worship from superstitious practices was a consequence of this system, and was not less disagreeable to Rome than the other reforms; for the mummeries with which the worship of the church had been debased, formed a fruitful source of gain.

Rome had not only to reproach Ricci with what he had thus done. She saw him voluntarily resign the excessive and abused authority which had been given to the bishops, as heads of the ecclesiastical tribunals called *officialités*, which, as well as the bishops, were entirely under the control of the Popes, to whom the former were bound by an oath, as anti-religious as it was anti-national. Ricci, to extirpate the evil, root and branch, boldly exclaimed against this oath, "by which," said he, "bishops, who are citizens as well as bishops, oblige themselves to obey a foreign prince, which honest and religious prelates can rarely do."

But the grievance which Rome made a reason for the most violent persecutions of its author, was his having reduced all his principles, maxims, and plans, into one entire system, which he got sanctioned by a synodal assembly of his diocese, and had formed into canons after the usage, recognized as regular and legal, of the primitive Church.

This bold enterprise brought down upon his head the thunders of the Vatican, and subsequently, persecutions which were directed

sometimes by cunning, at others by perfidy, violence, and cruelty. The superior clergy of Tuscany were united against him from the time that Leopold had so imprudently convoked the ecclesiastical assembly. This prince, called to the Imperial throne, only lived long enough to see his cherished work of Tuscan reformation overthrown, and Ricci exposed without defence to the hatred of his enemies, who triumphed in the name of superstition and fanaticism.

From this period, the ex-Bishop remained without authority, and in voluntary exile. He could furnish Rome with no farther causes for complaint, but those already existing were sufficient to weigh on him till his death. When, worn out by long suffering, terrified by frightful menaces, and deceived by false promises, he was induced to condemn his past conduct, and sacrifice his reputation;—when even the Pope himself felt touched at his humble resignation and self-denial, even then his chief persecutors, the zealots of the party, would not leave their prey; and the unfortunate Prelate, yielding at length to the maladies which had been brought on by the persecutions he had suffered, expired, after having experienced most of the evils which Popish vengeance could invent.

CHAPTER VIII.

Conclusion.

THE concurrence of circumstances which abolished the reforms of Leopold, and brought on the destruction of Ricci, produced important consequences in favour of Roman despotism, to which great credit was given in the eyes of the people, who seldom judge of enterprises but by their issues. The bark of St. Peter again floated into Tuscany on the waves of fanaticism, superstition, and ignorance; by an avaricious aristocracy, and a vain ministry, this bark (the sails of which were spread wider than ever, thanks to those who too incautiously endeavoured to sink it, and to the military chief who made use of it to help him out of the stormy sea of revolutions,) appeared sustained on the waters by a supernatural power; and it began again to inspire respect for every species of abuse.

This is not all: Liberty, who had shown herself for an instant, was soon banished, and the extraordinary man who, without chaining her entirely, had fettered her as much as his designs required, himself soon disappeared. Again the sacerdotal power obtained its full authority; but what opprobrium too great can be cast upon men, who, united to their fellow-creatures neither by sentiments, principles, interest, nor natural ties, seem to have only one object, that of deceiving them to despoil them; that of terrifying them with a false character of the Divinity, that they may be venerated as his interpreters, and of abusing them with an affectation of humility, that they may make them their servile followers!

The life of Ricci is throughout a proof of this; and if this moral be not drawn from it, it will present nothing but a list of shameful persecutions or disgusting scandals. But the facts which it records take an aspect, an historical colour, if we may so speak, of great interest when considered in their connexion with the great revolution which has agitated Europe, and of which they were in some measure the preparation and announcement. But the memoir teaches us, moreover, not to regard the system it exposes as one distinguished by the ordinary vices of men, but as rendered odious by the worst of crimes; as not merely affording

much to excite regret, and rouse the bold hand of reform, but as a vast and terrifying system of the lowest debauchery and infamy. We see monks employing the name and authority of God to seduce the young females under their care, and the most sacred rites of religion polluted by their attempts. Neither Catholics, Christians, nor even deists, these religious instructors stand before us as atheists, and atheists not even regarding for a moment one of the natural movements of the heart in favour of virtue.

The General of the order of St. Dominic, an order by the sentences of which so much innocent blood has been spilt, and which has precipitated so many estimable men into the flames for venturing to declare they thought not as the Dominicans—the General of this order in Ricci's time was, it is evident, fully aware of the disorders of which the latter complained. His indifference to them is sufficient evidence that his opinions were in conformity with the worst abuses of religion, against which Ricci invoked the assistance of the civil power, whose first duty is to watch over the morals of the people. But the General and his Dominicans professed, *in toto, la croyance au Pape*, namely, that they would commit any crime publicly to support the dogmas on which the pontifical authority rested, and the depraved

instruments of which they in secret were. Ricci, by exposing the iniquities of the order, scandalized, but could not injure the Court of Rome; and having been accused of not *believing the Pope,* his destruction followed as the consequence.

The Pope himself was at the head of this dark conspiracy against a Bishop, whose greatest crime was his sincerity. Knowing, as well as the General of the Dominicans, the infidelity of the order; knowing, as well as he, their conduct, and its fatal effects, he, notwithstanding, showed no greater feeling of horror, and he was equally enraged against the Prelate, who sacrificed all human respect, honours and advantages to the interests of piety.

And it is the Papacy which is again suffered to establish itself, which men fortify again with its ancient and pernicious errors, which is still surrounded with its fanatical and yet more dangerous adherents, the Jesuits, and which is permitted once more to arm itself with the scourges that have for so many ages degraded men, and devastated the world,—the scourge of the ferocious and frightful tribunal of the Inquisition. This fatal blindness of several European governments to their true interests, this false policy, this spirit of baseness, which makes them prefer the

passive submission of a people degraded by superstition, to the acquiescence of a free people in the policy of the Prince, can hardly be conceived possible at such a period as this,—a period which has been preceded by half a century, during which the examination of every question interesting to humanity and nations has been debated in the most profound manner.

For the honour of humanity, we trust that the people at least will recoil from the chains of superstition again forged for their minds. Every species of liberty is fallacious that is not founded on the basis of truth and knowledge; for no human power can preserve men in a state of slavery, but when the belief is current, that some of their fellow-creatures are destined by Providence to render the rest of mankind miserable.

Let us suppose for an instant, that we could annihilate the rising spirit of the times; let us suppose infancy subjected to the *Ignorantins*, youth to the Jesuits, mature age to the Inquisitors,—what horrors would not follow! how many steps would not civilization retrograde!

And who will deny that the people have made immense progress in solid improvement since the year eighty-nine? Who does not believe that the French at the end of the eighteenth century were as much above those of the age of Louis XIV,

as the wise and just Leopold was superior to the degraded Cosmo III?

Why does not reform continue to proceed from the throne? It was the duty of kings to continue the brilliant reforms of the philosophical and religious Joseph and Leopold. Unfortunately, in their time the people were not prepared to receive their excellent systems; but now that they are so, will their kings refuse to establish their freedom and happiness on the immovable bases of humanity and truth?

It was a Bishop, a pious and devout Bishop, who called for reform in the time of Leopold, who confessed that this reform was absolutely necessary, because society was menaced with evils which demanded a sure and immediate remedy. His predictions have been verified. The people have been driven to extremity; their Governments have resisted their just desires, and confusion has been the consequence. But the struggle is not at an end; and whatsoever be the obstacles, the cause of justice and humanity must at length prevail. Another Leopold will perhaps rise to effect this glorious object.

Why are there no more Riccis? or why are the men who are moved by a like spirit without power or influence? They would give new force to the

benevolent religion of Christ; a religion which a false zeal, a base superstition, and the intolerance of the priesthood, have tended so materially to debase; they would show us virtuous and enlightened Bishops ready at all times to resist the mummeries of vulgar superstition, and the fanaticism of fools and hypocrites: bishops ready voluntarily to resign all power hurtful to society, to preserve authority only for the good and consolation of their fellow-creatures; bishops as opposed to the anti-social and anti-religious despotism of the Court of Rome, as they are sincerely attached to the unity of the Church, a bond of brotherly and universal charity; bishops, lastly, obedient to the governments under which they live, but ready to defend by every legitimate means their own rights and those of their virtuous brethren.

May we not hope that this will one day be the case,—and that it will be so, by the progress and the impulses of genuine humanity? It will, it must be so. A party which labours for the restoration of darkness and superstition, carries the germ of its own destruction; for the only base on which it could establish itself is wanting—the ignorance of the people. This change will take place; but it has on the one side many obstacles to overcome, combats to sustain, and sacrifices to

make; on the other there are many interests to destroy! But the whole subject resolves itself into a simple question, and it is,—whether any government is authorized by a Divine law to debase its subjects into ignorant slaves; or any priesthood to convert them into imbecile monsters?

APPENDIX.

NOTICE OF RICCI'S EARLY FRIEND

SERRAO.

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NOTICE OF RICCI'S EARLY FRIEND SERRAO.

ONE of Ricci's earliest and most valuable friends was Serrao, Bishop of Potenza. His life was written by Davanzata, and published at Paris in 1806. The memoir is a monument to his wisdom and justice, and strongly reminds us of Ricci's character and conduct. The following extract from it contains some passages which will be interesting to the English reader.

SERRAO had a great deal of difficulty in procuring Bulls at Rome. He was well understood to feel a strong attachment to the Government of Naples, whose rights he had always been forward to maintain, and showed himself still ready to do so, against the monstrous pretensions and usurpations of the Popes. The Abbé Serrao, protected by the King, served him with zeal and fidelity as Bishop of Potenza, because he was at the same time benefiting his country. On the change of affairs

which took place shortly after the occupation of the capital by the French, in 1799, this learned and virtuous prelate did not consider himself released from those ties which bound him to his country as a citizen, or to his flock as a pastor. He was punished for it by the ruffians who were sent by the King, under Cardinal Ruffo, against the French and Neapolitan Republicans, and who shot him in his bed. It was fortunate for Serrao that he was not reserved for cruelties which emanated from higher quarters, and which were so much the more abominably atrocious as they were disguised under the forms of law, if not of justice, —cruelties instigated and conducted by the infamous Lady Hamilton, by whom Nelson was weak enough to allow his own and his country's honour to be sullied,—by Nelson himself, who proved to the world how far inferior the courage of a warrior is to that of an honest man,—by that sycophant courtier Acton, the despicable favourite of Ferdinand and of Caroline;—lastly, by Fiore, Guido Baldi, Antonio la Rossa, Damiani, Sambuti, and by the sanguinary Giulian Speziale, the most detestable of those butcher-judges, the refuse and execration of mankind, which nothing but the corruption of courts could have engendered, and nothing but the jealous vigilance of eastern despotism could detect.

That we may not be accused of exaggeration, we

will relate—no, we will use the words of Cuoco, a respectable historian of Naples, and eye-witness of the horrors he describes.

It was under the eyes, and by the orders of the King, of Acton, of Nelson, of Lady Hamilton, and of their tools, that the most solemn capitulation was violated, and the violation sanctioned by oath that the court might resume its authority, and illegitimately annulled by that same court in order that it might resume the most odious of its pretended privileges, that of assassinating its subjects with the stiletto of law, fashioned by caprice and convenience.

It was in the sight of the King and of his base advisers that 30,000 persons were arrested, amongst whom were some unfortunate beings, known by every Neapolitan to be confirmed lunatics, and several of whom had been confined in the asylum:—children of 5 years were imprisoned, children of 12 years were banished from the country, and several young men scarcely of age were sent to untimely graves:—that the blood of the best citizens reddened the streets—that after being massacred, they were left to roast on fires from which their quivering limbs were snatched and even devoured by the populace, whom the royalists supported.

Cardinal Ruffo, continues Cuoco, was an ambitious villain. Destitute of honour and morality,

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he was fertile in expedients for the success of his projects, and no expedient was too unprincipled for him. This ringleader saw and incited the work of massacre; at least he neither condemned nor obstructed it. The assurance of impunity, the hope of plunder, promises held out by the Government, and superstitious fanaticism, all concurred in filling his ranks with numerous followers. I shall only mention Caietan Mammone, who, from being a miller, became General in Chief of the insurrection of Sora. This monster, the most horrible perhaps the world has ever seen, in the short space of two months, and in a limited extent of territory, ordered 350 persons to be shot, whilst his satellites murdered at least double the number. There was no end to the destruction he caused by pillage, rape, and fire. His prisons were a scene of horrors: he invented new modes of torture, and revived the forgotten cruelties of Procrustes and Mezentius.

His thirst for human blood was so insatiable, that he drank it as it trickled from the wounds of his murdered victims; and I who am now writing, says Cuoco, I myself have seen him drink his own blood from an opened vein, and ask eagerly for the blood of the sick. His dinner-table was furnished with a human head still reeking with blood, and he drank out of a human skull. Such

was the brutal monster whom Ferdinand addressed by the title of General and Friend.

Before it was possible to ratify the terms of honourable capitulation which the Republicans, yielding to the force of events, had dictated to the King as the condition of their surrender, it was requisite to establish an armistice to arrange matters. The interval was employed by the Government in preparing the treason. The Queen had scarcely been informed of what had taken place, when she sent Lady Hamilton from Palermo to Lord Nelson: "I would rather lose the two kingdoms," said she, "than degrade myself by a compromise with rebels."

Cuoco acknowledges, on this point, that undoubtedly the King was at liberty to refuse the capitulation; but he asks if, after having entered into it, he was still at liberty to violate his honour. Or supposing that he was justifiable in breaking his word, ought he not, at all events, to have placed every thing on the same footing as before the capitulation was signed? The English ambassadress certainly succeeded but too well in her mission; the compact of honour was infamously broken.

"That Lady Hamilton should lend herself to the caprices of the Queen ought not to surprise us, since it is but too common, and since she

was the guardian of her own honour; but that Nelson should prostitute his honour, the honour of his arms and his country, to Lady Hamilton, is enough to excite our greatest astonishment, and ought not to have been endured by the English Nation."

It is matter of general notoriety, that this woman, removed from the haunts of prostitution in London, and kept by the nephew of the English ambassador at Naples, was handed over to that functionary in consideration of his discharging the debts she had contracted on account of her lover. By marrying her new master, she became successively the confidante, favourite, and ready instrument of the daughter of Maria Theresa, and the mistress of Nelson. In this last capacity she received the homage of the Sovereigns and Grandees, who had combined against the French Republic. After the death of the Ambassador and the Admiral, she resumed her original profession, and ended her days in misery and debauchery.

One of Nelson's secretaries, in writing to a friend at Port Mahon, uses these words: "We are loading ourselves with the most horrible crimes, in order to reinstate the most stupid of Kings."

Fiore was the only judge preserved by the Court, in order to compose its Burning Chamber, when they remodelled the Junta, a form of go-

vernment established on their return to Naples, which had become offensive by its humanity. Fiore was a wretch.

Guidobaldi was the head of the spies and informers; he chose that path to preferment, and he was not deceived. The first measure he took was to pension the public executioner, who had previously received six ducats for each execution; but Guidobaldi, expecting to supply him with uninterrupted employment during ten or twelve months, conceived the plan of economizing the public treasure by commuting the fees for a salary.

Speziale is known by his refined strokes of cruelty:—to enumerate them all would be to write his life. It was his daily custom to regale his eyes with the sufferings of those prisoners, whom he had not yet consigned to death.

Before he was appointed superintendent of the legal slaughter at Naples, he had recommended himself at the Isle of Procida, where, within two months, says Cuoco, he had kept shambles of human flesh. It was there that he condemned to death the tailor who had made the dresses for the republican members of the municipality. He executed a notary who had preserved a perfect neutrality during the whole revolution. "This is a clever man," said Speziale; "he must die." He consigned to execution Spano, Schipani, Battes-

tessa, the last of whom, after hanging twenty-four hours, was found to be still alive when cut down to be buried. Speziale was asked what should be done? "Cut his throat," said he. Having received orders from the Queen to condemn his friend Nicholas Fiani, against whom no proof existed, he sent for him to his house, and embraced him with tears, telling him that there was no possibility of escape for him, except by pouring all his secrets into the bosom of friendship. He received the confessions of the too confiding Fiani, prevailed upon him to write them down, to serve as notes in the midst of his numerous occupations, and two days after sent him to—his grave.

Francis Conforti was the Father Paul, the Giannone, of the kingdom of Naples, whose rights, during the course of a long career, he had often defended against the arrogant ambition and insatiable avarice of the Court of Rome. His talents and his pen were necessary. Speziale required him to write a work, assuring him of the royal pardon, and acknowledging, that the only offence that could be laid to his charge was the eminent station he held in the Republic—a proof at once of patriotism and crime. Conforti produced a memoir full of sense and learning, sent it to Speziale, and received the remuneration of—death.

The long-continued favour enjoyed by Acton

might cause the supposition, says Cuoco, that he possessed some talent, if only the talent of a courtier. But he had none,—his only recommendation was wickedness. He would have fallen a thousand times, if he had found his match in *villainy*.—Upon the vote being proposed in the first Junta, that the capitulation with the patriots should be faithfully observed: Acton, to elude the blow, wished to substitute for a solemn public act, what he called the clemency of the Prince. But what clemency, what generosity could be expected from a man, who had not blushed to violate a treaty?

Respecting the King, Cuoco thus expresses himself: "The King, who up to the time of his quitting Naples, had discovered nothing but sloth and meanness, broke out, after his return, into the most truculent ferocity. Those who are skilled in human nature, are well aware that these points of character are frequently combined in the same individual. He saw, one might almost say he gloated over, the scene of pillage and massacre, which he witnessed from the vessel in which he overlooked the capital. All the unfortunate victims of popular violence were dragged before him, in the state in which they happened to be during those horrid moments; that is to say, mutilated, and covered with blood and dirt, and on

the point of yielding their last sigh. Not a word escaped him that manifested the slightest sensibility.—“ Very well ; take him to prison !” was his usual answer ; to which he sometimes added, with a grin of cruel irony,—“ and treat him well, for he is a good man.” The King was on board a vessel, which was surrounded with other vessels filled with persons under arrest, who were dying one after the other beneath his eyes, partly by the excessive pressure of their own crowd, partly for want of food, and especially of drink, as well as from the immense number of insects, and the scorching fire of a Neapolitan sun. Some of these miserable prisoners were in irons, even on his own deck ; and he so far degraded the majesty of his rank, as to walk amongst them.

We have now passed under review the principal actors in the counter-revolution ; let us next examine the consequences of their proceedings. The soundest portion of the community had attached themselves to the cause of revolution at Naples. The counter-revolution destroyed all that was great, and good, and useful. In national industry, the loss may be computed at eighty millions, (fifteen millions sterling,) and in actual property the loss is scarcely less,—the produce of four centuries was destroyed in a moment. English monopolists gained possession of our master-pieces in

painting, transferred by pillage from their owners to the populace, who were ignorant alike of their merit and their value. The active portion of society being annihilated, drew after it the ruin of all. To these evils must be added the utter abolition of every moral principle, and the consequent depravity of manners—those dreadful, but unfailing companions in the vicissitudes of Revolution,—besides which, the restored Court will hereafter look upon its subjects as a nation of foreigners, and will consider the misery and ignorance of the people as the only guarantee of its stability. No thinking man can reflect upon this state of things without casting a sorrowful glance at a large body of his fellow-creatures, thus thrown back, in the midst of political improvement, into the degradation and misery, which was their lot two centuries ago.

The study of philosophy and mathematics was prohibited by the King. One of the greatest accusations against Mr. * * * was that of having permitted his son to be instructed in the antiquities of Rome. "Wicked father!" said Bono, one of his judges, "are those the pursuits in which you employ your son in times like these?" It may be easily supposed that the tutor did not escape.

"I have confined myself to the events in the capital," says Cuoco, in concluding his frightful

narrative. "Murders, if possible, of a still more ferocious character, were perpetrated in the provinces, which were overrun by the emissaries of the Junta, under the title of Visitors. The number of those who were sacrificed may be reckoned at four thousand. All those who thus perished, whether at that time, or in the subsequent persecutions, to the irretrievable calamity of the nation, constituted its most valuable members. Let this serve as a foundation to estimate the loss. The men may be replaced, but how shall we regain their wisdom and their virtue? Is it too much then to say, that we have gone back two centuries?"

Cuoco returned to the bosom of his country, when the Bourbons were expelled a second time from Naples; and lived there in honour, under Joseph Bonaparte and Murat. In 1815, the bare idea of seeing the return of the legitimate Ferdinand the Fourth deprived him of his reason, and thus spared him the affliction of witnessing the shameful subjugation of his country. He died towards the close of 1823.

THE END.

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